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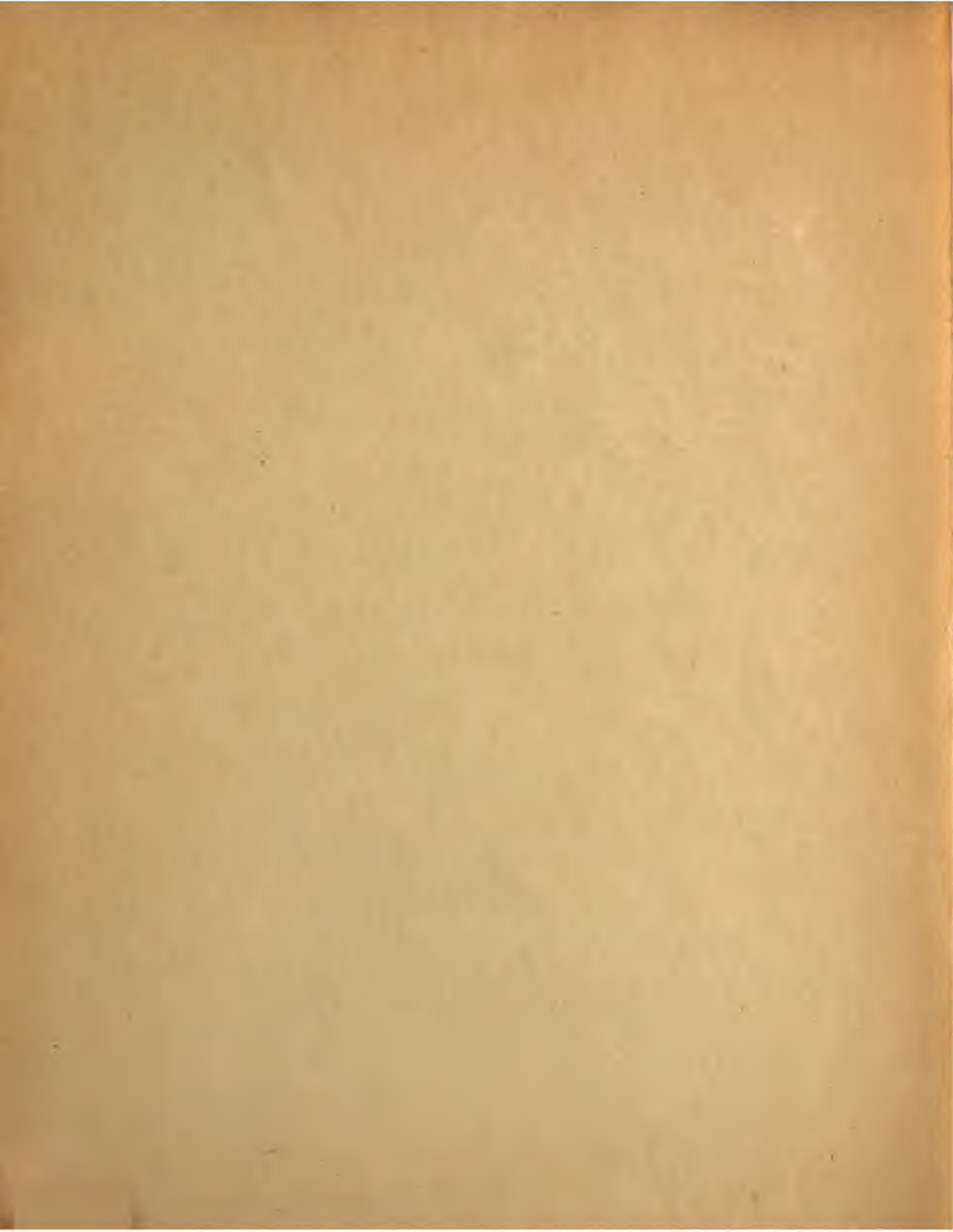


FROM THE
FRANCIS PARKMAN
MEMORIAL FUND

FOR
CANADIAN HISTORY

ESTABLISHED IN 1908









Massawomecks

VIA

Signification of these marks
 To the crosses hath bin assigned
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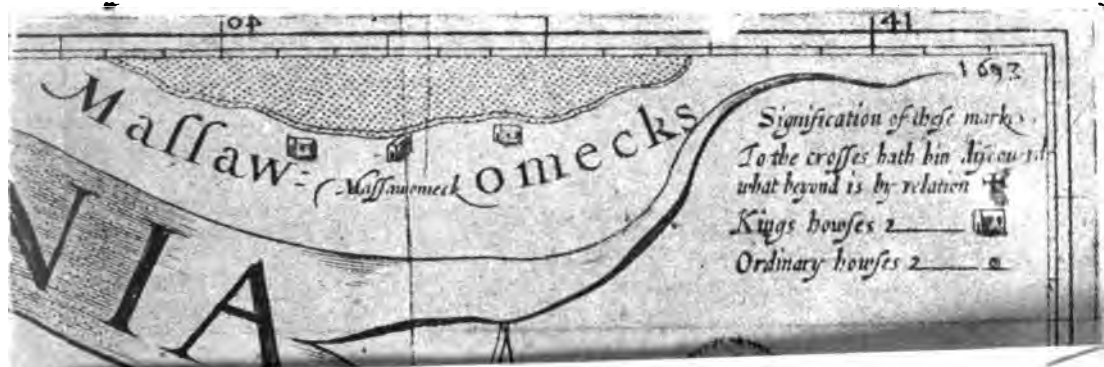
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S L S Q V E
 S L H N

A

True Relation





A

True Relation

OF

VIRGINIA

BY

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

By CHARLES DEANE



Boston

WIGGIN AND LUNT

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PREFACE TO THIS EDITION.

THE tract here reprinted from the original black-letter volume is the earliest published work relating to the colony at Jamestown, Virginia (the first permanent English settlement in North America), which is known to bibliographers; having been issued the year after the settlement was made. It was written by Captain JOHN SMITH, the master-spirit of the colony, and, as will be seen, in the first person. It records the events which took place under his own observation for a period of a little over thirteen months, and embraces the time from the arrival of the colonists at Cape Henry, on the 26th of April, 1607, to the return of Captain Nelson in the "Phoenix," on the 2d of June, 1608. This is the first printed work of Captain Smith, who was destined to make some figure as an author. It was penned in the country of which he writes, and probably was not intended for publication.

The manuscript, not improbably, was taken to England by Captain Nelson, who, without unusual delays, would have arrived home some time in July. We have no means of knowing to whom the narrative was addressed. It appears to have circulated for a time in private among persons interested in the colony, and then to have found its way into print. By a singular misapprehension as to its authorship, some of the earlier issued copies bore the name of "Thomas Watson, Gent. one of said Collony," as the writer. The error appears to have been very soon discovered and corrected, and the name of Captain Smith substituted on the titlepage; and, in the preface which appeared with the corrected title, the writer, "I. H.," says: "Happening vpon this Relation by chance, (as I take it, at the second or third hand) induced thereunto by diuers well willers of the action . . . I thought good to publish it: but the Author being absent from the presse, it cannot be doubted but that some faults haue escaped in the printing, especially in the names of Countries, Towns, and People, which are somewhat strange vnto us: but most of all, and which is the chiefe error, (for want of knowledge of the Writer) some of the bookes were printed vnder the name of *Thomas Watson*, by whose occasion I know not, vnless it were the ouer rashnesse or mistaking of the workemen, but since hauing learned that the saide discourse was written by Captain *Smith*, who is one

of the Counsell there in Virginia, I thought good to make the like Apologie, by shewing the true Author so far as my selfe could learn," &c.

If the usual plea, "absence of the author from the presse," is a sufficient excuse for "faults escaped in the printing," certainly a distance of three thousand miles should make the plea a valid one. Doubtless the writer's manuscript suffered somewhat at the hands of the printer. The punctuation of the book is, in many places, as bad as it well can be, and the meaning of the author is sometimes rendered obscure thereby. But probably the errors are not confined to the punctuation. It is quite certain, also, that a judicious corrector of the press would, in other respects, have improved what, as I have before suggested, may not have been written for publication. With the exception, however, of a few imperfect and almost unintelligible sentences, the book, when properly punctuated by the reader, will be found to be clearly and forcibly written, and to give an apparently faithful history of the colony for the period which it includes. Where Captain Smith comes in collision with others in authority in the colony, some allowance, perhaps, should be made for his strong feeling or prejudices; and it is always well, if possible, to read their version of the story in connection with his. Here I may refer to Wingfield's "Discourse of Virginia," which was written by the first president of the colony, who, hav-

ing been deposed before six months of his administration had expired, in this tract vigorously defends himself from the charges brought against him by Smith and others.

The writer of the preface says, that "somewhat more was by him [the author] written, which being, as I thought, fit to be private, I would not adventure to make it publicke," &c. What was the nature of the writing here referred to can only be conjectured: nor is it evident why it was deemed necessary to announce, that matter "fit to be private" had been omitted. It is not improbable, that Smith—who for a long time had lain under suspicion with some of the members of the council, and who differed in his views of policy from many in authority, and from Captain Newport no less than from others—did not hesitate to comment freely on measures which he could not approve; and he may have written in private to a friend something which it was not deemed politic to publish. If any thing fell from his pen one half as caustic as his letter to the "Treasurer and Councill of Virginia," written a few months later, but not printed till sixteen years afterward, and then by himself in the "Generall Historie" (pp. 70–73), no one can wonder that it was deemed best, in this early and critical period of the colony's history, to suppress it.

The reader of the narrative will hardly fail to notice the abruptness with which the writer, after speaking

of their "many crosses in the downes," transports the little fleet to Cape Henry and Chesapeake Bay; the whole intervening time and space being despatched in scarcely half a dozen lines. During this period of many weeks, events took place, that were full of interest to Smith. It is said that he was suspected of a mutiny at sea, and was placed under arrest; and that, on the arrival of the colonists at Cape Henry, when the sealed box containing "the orders for government" was opened, and he was found to have been named as a member of the colonial council, he was not allowed to take his place in that body. It can hardly be supposed, that he would omit, in a narrative of events, to record what so much interested himself, and to speak freely of those who had thus heaped indignities upon him. Whatever else Smith may have written in the body of his letter, his own name did not appear in it throughout.

This tract was cited by Purchas in the first edition of his "Pilgrimage," a small folio volume of 752 pages, published at London, in 1613. On page 638, he places among his authorities in the margin "Newes from Virginia," — the running-title of this tract at the head of each page, — "and a M.S. of Cap. *Smith*;" and he quotes from the "True Relation" a little more than what is now contained on page 42 of this reprint. The same reference may also be seen in each later edition of the "Pilgrimage."

This little black-letter quarto has for a long time been considered "rare" among book-collectors, although at the present time I know of six copies in this country. Five of these I have had the privilege of examining. In the library of Colonel Aspinwall, late Consul of the United States at London, which was recently purchased by Mr. Barlow, of New York, is a copy with the "Smith" titlepage, and explanatory preface. Mr. James Lenox, of New York, also has a copy like that. Mr. John Carter Brown, of Providence, R.I., has a copy, with the "Watson" titlepage, in a manuscript *fac-simile*, and without the explanatory preface. A copy with the "Watson" title, and also with the preface, is in the library of the New-York Historical Society. A copy wanting the titlepage, and also the preface, is in the library of Harvard College. Mr. Lenox has within a few months received from London a second copy of this tract, differing in its titlepage from either of the others described. It has neither the name of "Smith" nor of "Watson" on the titlepage, but simply the words, "By a Gentleman." It also contains the explanatory preface. The text of all these copies is the same, there never having been but one edition. The leaves are not paged. A comparison, by Mr. Lenox, of copies with the three different titles described above, would seem to indicate that all the titlepages were struck from the same page of types as originally set up; with the change only

of the two lines where the author's name is introduced. In the "Smith" copy, part of one line has been newly set up; the space occupied by the words, "*Captain Smith, Coronell,*" being exactly the same as that taken up in the "Watson" copy by the words, "Th: Watson, Gent. one." In the "Gentleman" copy, recently received by Mr. Lenox, these two lines read thus: "*Written by a Gentleman of the said Collony,* to a worshipfull | friend of his in England;" the word "worshipfull" being in the first line, while, in the other titles, it is in the second line.

As to the order in which the copies with these several titlepages were issued, it seems most natural to suppose, that at first, in the absence of any information concerning the author, or of any wish to announce his name, the style used in the "Gentleman" copy would be employed; and that copies with this titlepage should be regarded as the first issued. If we may assume this to be the fact, of course the explanatory preface, which Mr. Lenox's "Gentleman" copy has, does not belong to it. The adoption of such a titlepage for any later issue of this work could be referred, it would seem, only to the whim of a bookseller. The "Watson" title, of course, precedes the "Smith" title, to copies of which alone the explanatory preface "To the Courteous Reader" naturally belongs. If these three titlepages were struck off from the same "form," each of the later ones must have followed the

preceding one at no long interval, though the types may have been kept standing for weeks. But, if there was no attempt here at deception, we must suppose that some copies with the "Watson" title had been issued beyond recall before the "Smith" titlepage and the preface were printed. For if the erroneous "Watson" title had been merely "printed" when the error was discovered (see page ii. of preface), it would naturally have been cancelled.

A perfect copy of the first issue, if we may speak bibliographically, should contain a blank leaf before the titlepage, with signature "A" on the *recto*; then the "Watson" titlepage (or "Gentleman" title, if the suggestion above is adopted); following which is the text, beginning with "A 3," and continuing to "E 4," in fours. A corrected copy should contain the "Smith" titlepage, and two leaves of explanatory preface "To the Courteous Reader," corresponding to this reprint. The existence of a copy in the New-York Historical Society's library, referred to, with the "Watson" titlepage and the preface; of Mr. Lenox's copy, with the "Gentleman" titlepage and the preface; of Lord Ellesmere's copy (described by Mr. J. Paine Collier in his "Bibliographical and Critical Account of the Rarest Books in the English Language," London, 1865), with the "Smith" titlepage, and with no preface; and of the copy in the Grenville Library, with the "Watson" titlepage and with the preface, — shows, unless each

of these copies has been tampered with since it came from the hands of the printer, that but little regard was had to propriety in annexing or omitting the explanatory preface.

Mr. Collier, in the work cited above, expresses the opinion, for which he gives no reason, that, notwithstanding what is said in the address to the reader, Watson was the real author of the tract, though Captain Smith's more popular name was used in copies like that which Mr. Collier is describing; namely, the Ellesmere copy, which has the "Smith" titlepage.

Mr. Collier, in this, shows his ignorance of the early history of Virginia. He never could have read the tract of which he is speaking, especially in connection with the other narratives which cover the period of which Smith is here writing; for, if he had, he could not have failed to see that no one but Smith could have written the "True Relation." No person by the name of "Thomas Watson" is known to have been in the colony at the time; though a person of that name subsequently appears as one of the patentees in the second charter of Virginia, issued in 1609.

But any one who has not qualified himself to judge, by the internal evidence, as to the authorship of this tract, and who is disposed to call in question the testimony of the writer of the preface,—hitherto, I believe, unquestioned,—I would refer to a statement of Purchas in his "Pilgrimage," page 638 of the first edition.

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In relating the adventures of Captain Smith in Virginia, he there quotes from this tract, by its running-title, "Newes from Virginia," more than a page (varying the language a little, and changing the style from the first person, in which Smith wrote it, to the third person), in which are described some of the "magicall rites" of the Indians which Smith had witnessed when he was their prisoner. The passage in Smith which reads, "So fat they fed mee, that I much doubted they intended to have sacrificed mee," &c. ("True Relation," page 42), Purchas renders in the third person thus: "They so fedd this our Author, that he much misdoubted, that hee should have beene sacrificed," &c. It will therefore be seen that Purchas, the highest authority in this case, cites this tract, and identifies the narrator with Smith.

The original tract is in black-letter: this impression, therefore, is in no sense a *fac-simile*. It is, however, a literal transcript of the original work, as regards the spelling, the punctuation, and the retaining of all the errors, even those clearly typographical. In some instances, where the meaning of the author has been obscured or perverted by the defective print, or where he has himself failed to express his thoughts clearly, I have ventured, in aid of a more correct understanding of the text, to make some suggestions in the notes at the foot of the page. Where the meaning is apparent at once to the intelligent reader, notwith-

standing the defects in punctuation and in the grammatical structure of the sentences, I have usually left the page without comment.

The titlepage, however, of this reprint is very nearly a *fac-simile* of the original; and the head-piece, and the ornamental letter K, on the first page of the text, are exact copies of those in the black-letter tract.

This reprint is paged throughout, and in this respect differs from the original. No map was originally issued with this tract; but a photo-lithographic *fac-simile* of Smith's map, which was issued in the Oxford tract of 1612 (a work frequently cited in my notes under the title of "Map of Virginia"), is here furnished, as it will afford assistance to a better understanding of the narrative.

This map was subsequently re-issued in Smith's "Generall Historie," at page 41; and that number will be found engraved at the bottom, in the right-hand corner, on copies of the map so used. The map will also be found in copies of vol. iv. of Purchas's "Pilgrimes," at pages 1690, 1691 (or 1692, 1693); which numbers may be seen rudely engraved at the top of copies of the map there inserted. Such copies also have the words, "Page 41, Smith," in the corner.

A reprint of the "True Relation" was attempted in "The Southern Literary Messenger" for February, 1845, from the copy in the New-York Historical Society's library: but it was very incorrectly done; a

number of passages — in one instance, nearly a whole page — having been carelessly omitted.

Smith's "Generall Historie," issued in 1624, includes, substantially, the whole of his previous publications, with the exception of the "True Relation." For the period covered by this tract, another narrative is introduced; namely, that in the appendix to the Oxford tract, before mentioned, called the "Map of Virginia," &c., written by the companions of Smith. It is not nearly so full as the "True Relation," for the time embraced by this tract, even with the addition made to it in its new form in the "Generall Historie," though it covers a much longer period. Why Smith should have omitted to include this, his first work, in the "Generall Historie" is not evident. He could have corrected the errors of the press, and in other respects have improved its composition. It is not easy, however, to see how he could have explained the omission of the romantic story of his rescue by Pocahontas, foisted into the narrative of his companions, as it is reprinted in the "Generall Historie." It would have been more awkward to attempt to fit that new piece to the old garment of his own "True Relation," than to supply what might appear wanting in the relation of another.

The only contemporary histories of the colony at Jamestown hitherto published, that cover the period embraced by the "True Relation," are, first,

the little quarto volume above referred to, which was printed at Oxford in 1612, with the following title :—

“A Map of Virginia. With a Description of the covntrey, the Commodities, People, Government and Religion. Written by Captaine Smith, sometimes Governour of the Countrey. Wherevnto is annexed the proceedings of those Colonies, since their first departure from England, with the discourfes, Orations, and relations of the Salvages, and the accidents that befell them in all their Iournies and discoveries. Taken faithfvly as they were written out of the writings of Doctor Rvffell. Tho. Stvdley. Anas Todkill. Ieffra Abot. Richard Wiffin. Will. Phettiplace. Nathaniel Powell. Richard Pots. And the relations of divers other intelligent observers there present then, and now many of them in England. By W. S. At Oxford, Printed by Joseph Barnes. 1612.”

As the title indicates, the tract consists of two parts. The first part includes thirty-nine pages of text, besides three pages of Indian words and their English meanings, one page of dedication, and the titlepage. This part was written by Smith, as he says in the “Generall Historie,” “with his owne hand.” It is a topographical description of the country, embracing climate, soil, and productions, with a full account of the native inhabitants; and has only an occasional reference to the proceedings of the colony at Jamestown. In the dedication of this part, signed “T. A.,” the writer says “it was penned in the Land it treateth of.” In a letter addressed to the Treasurer and Council of the Virginia Company in England—

written from Virginia after the arrival of Newport there in September, 1608, and probably sent home by him near the close of the year — Smith says, “I haue sent you this Mappe of the Bay and Rivers, with an annexed Relation of the Countries and Nations that inhabit them, as you may see at large.” (“Generall Historie,” pp. 71, 72.) The map referred to I suppose to be Smith’s map of the country, which was published in the Oxford tract; and the “annexed Relation” to be the manuscript of his part of it. As it was not printed till two or three years after Smith had returned from Virginia, it is not improbable that the writer made additions to his manuscript before giving it to the press. One or two of the last paragraphs were certainly written in England.

The second part of the Oxford tract has a separate titlepage, as follows:—

“The Proceedings of the English colonie in Virginia since their first beginning from England in the yeare of our Lord 1606, till this present 1612, with all their accidents that befell them in their Iournies and Discoveries. Also the Salvages discourfes, orations and relations of the Bordering neighbours, and how they became subiect to the English. Vnfoldinge even the fundamentall causes from whence haue sprang so many miseries to the vndertakers, and scandals to the businesse: taken faithfully as they were written out of the writings of Thomas Studley, the first provant maister, Anas Todkill, Walter Ruffell Doctor of Phisicke, Nathaniell Powell, William Phettyplace, Richard Wyffin, Thomas Abbay, Tho: Hope, Rich. Potts and the labours of divers other diligent observers, that were residents in Virginia.

And pervfed and confirmed by diverfe now refident in England that were actors in this bufines. By W. S. At Oxford, Printed by Joseph Barnes. 1612."

In the address "to the reader" of this part, the writer of it, "T. Abbay,"—probably the person whose initials are signed to the dedication of the first part,—says that the discourse is not from "salers or passengers," but from "those that haue lived residents in the land . . . whose particular discourses are signed by their names. This solid treatise, first was compiled by Richard Pots, since passing the hands of many to pervse, chancing into my hands (for that I knew them honest men, and can partly well witnesse their relations true) I could do no lesse in charity to the world then reveale, nor in conscience, but approue. By the advice of many graue and vnderstanding gentlemen, that haue pressed it to the press, it was thought fit to publish it, rather in its owne rude phrase then other waies."

Richard Pots and Thomas Abbay had both resided in Virginia. Pots came with the "first supply" of passengers, perhaps in January, 1607-8; and Abbay with the "second supply," about September following. Their names, though mentioned in the titlepage among those out of whose writings this narrative was compiled, are not appended to any of the chapters as authority for what precedes. The same remark may be made concerning some of the other

names thus introduced into the titlepage. The name of "Richard Pots, Clarke of the councell," is affixed for the first time, as an authority, to a chapter in the "Generall Historie," p. 94, as this narrative is there reprinted. On the last page of this second part is a note addressed to "Captaine Smith," saying, "I returne you the fruit of my labours, as Mr. Croshaw requested me, which I bestowed in reading the discourses, & hearing the relations of such as haue walked, & observed the land of *Virginia* with you. The pains I took was great," &c.; concluding with, "*Your friend. W. S.*" These are the initials of William Simons, or Symonds, "Doctor of Divinity;" an Oxfordshire man, whose name is perpetuated by Wood in his "Athenæ," who says, "He was a person of an holy life, grave and moderate in his carriage, painful in the ministry, well learned and of rare understanding in prophetical scriptures." He was much interested in the colony of Virginia, and preached a "sermon at White-chapel in the presence of many Honorable and Worshipfull, the Adventurers and Planters for Virginia, 25 April 1609." Dr. Simons appears to have been requested by Smith, who was probably the one ultimately interested in this publication, to overlook these "discourses" before finally sending them to the press; and I should infer from the "Generall Historie," pp. 41 and 105, if not from the note to Smith cited above, that Dr. Simons was the

principal editor of the narrative in this part of the Oxford tract.

It would seem, then, from the above, that this second part "first was compiled," by Richard Pots, out of the writings of a number of Smith's companions. It subsequently went into the hands of Dr. Simons, who gave the manuscript an editorial supervision. "This solid treatise" then "chanced" into the hands of T. Abbay, who gave it his sanction in a preface.

The Oxford tract was republished in the "Generall Historie," on pages 21-96. The first part, written by Smith, as there reprinted, varies a little, occasionally, in the text. The preface by "T. A." is omitted; and the catalogue of Indian words, &c., is transferred to the end of this part. A new heading is given, and three or four lines of new matter begin the text. The second part, as reprinted in the "Generall Historie," underwent some changes in the original text; but much new matter was introduced, chiefly, I suppose, on the authority of Smith, as the parallel passages found in Purchas are usually credited to him. Lines of poetry are occasionally interspersed in the text, with two pages of commendatory verses, and also a letter of Smith to the Treasurer and Council of Virginia. A few pages of the tract, near its close, are omitted in the "Generall Historie." The preface by "T. Abbay" is also omitted, and the heading of this part is changed to the following: "The

Proceedings and Accidents of the English Colony in Virginia, Extracted from the Authors following, by William Simons, Doctour of Divinitie." The "authors following" I suppose to be those whose names are affixed to some of the chapters. A number of names are thus affixed that do not appear in the original tract.

The Oxford tract was also republished by Purchas, in his "Pilgrimes," vol. iv. pp. 1691-1733. The first part is reprinted almost literally, with a few additional passages, which are generally in Italics. The preface and the Indian words are omitted; and the heading of this part (being chap. iii. lib. ix. of Purchas) reads thus: "The description of Virginia by Captaine Iohn Smith, enlarged out of his written Notes." A passage relating to the conjurations of the Indians in the presence of Smith, on pages 31, 32, of the original tract, is here omitted, and appears in an enlarged form in the second part; as was the case also in the reprint in the "Generall Historie." In reprinting the second part, Purchas has abbreviated a few passages and omitted many; but otherwise he has followed the original text very closely. Much new matter is introduced, corresponding mainly to what is new in the "Generall Historie;" and, though usually the language is the same, it is sometimes abbreviated. The new matter in Purchas, I suppose, was furnished by Smith in manuscript; and generally his

name is placed in the margin against these passages. His heading of this part (being chap. iii. lib. ix. of Purchas) nearly corresponds to the heading of Chapter I. in the original, with the exception that three additional names are given as authorities,* with the following: "And since enlarged out of the Writings of Capt. Iohn Smith, principall Agent and Patient in these Virginian Occurrents, from the beginning of the Plantation 1606. till Ann. 1610. somewhat abridged." Also the preface by T. Abbay is omitted.

Although the "Generall Historie" bears date 1624, the year before the date of Purchas's "Pilgrimes," I cannot think that it was issued in print in time for Purchas to use it at this place. As we have seen above, he reprinted from the text of the Oxford tract, adding what was furnished to him by Smith. In a subsequent portion of the volume, at page 1773, Purchas refers to the "Generall Historie," though not by this name. He acknowledges his indebtedness to Captain Smith for materials respecting Virginia at the period of which he is then writing (1614-1619); for Smith, he says, "having compiled a long History of that and the *Summer Iland* plantation, and of *New England*,

* Purchas has a marginal note at this place as follows: "I haue many Treatises lying by me, written by Capt. Smith and others, some there, some here after their returne: but because these haue already seene the light, and containe a full relation of *Virginian* affaires, I was loth to wearie the Reader with others of this time."

in six Bookes, hath gently communicated the same to mine, that is to thine, as intended to the Worlds vse," &c. This would indicate a reference to manuscripts, or advance sheets, rather than to a volume already published to the world. The voluminous works of Purchas must have been a long time in the press, though the four volumes of the "Pilgrimes" all bear date 1625, — the year probably of their issue.

It may be well to mention, in connection with the subject of the publication of the Oxford tract in a volume of Purchas's "Pilgrimes," that this author printed an abstract of it in his "Pilgrimage," referred to above as having been first published at London in 1613, the year after the tract was published. "The eighth booke" of that work relates to the New World, and "Chap. V." treats "Of Virginia." Captain Smith, if not the other writers of the tract, had communicated to Purchas his manuscript. On page 634, in speaking of those parts of Virginia "discovered for Sir Walter Raleigh," Purchas says, "Concerning the latter, Captaine *John Smith*, partly by word of mouth, partly by his Mapped thereof in print,* and more fully by a Manuscript† which hee courteously communi-

* It would seem that Smith's map had been engraved on copperplate, and, if not already published, an advance copy of it shown to Purchas, before the printing or the *publishing* of the Oxford tract in which it was afterwards issued.

† At the time Purchas was here writing, the Oxford tract, called the "Map of Virginia," &c., had not been printed. "The Epistle Dedicatory"

cated to mee, hath acquainted me with that whereof himselfe with great perill and paine had beene the discoverer," &c. He also refers in the margin on another page, as his authorities, to material "collected out of the writing" of the authors of the second part, or appendix to the Oxford tract. This abstract, and other passages considerably extended, appear in the second edition of the "Pilgrimage," published the next year (pp. 755, 768); in the third edition, published in 1617 (pp. 944-956); and in the fourth edition, published in 1626 (p. 834 *et seq.*). This last edition usually accompanies the four volumes of the "Pilgrimes," published the year before. "Purchas his Pilgrimage" is a different work from "Purchas his Pilgrimes." The author describes the distinction between them in the dedication of the last edition of the "Pilgrimage" to the Archbishop of Canterbury. "It pleased his Majestie," he says, "to enquire further of the different scope of my Pilgrimage, & my then presented Pilgrims which here also for the Readers' sake I think fit to answer; that These Brethren holding much resemblance in name, nature, and feature, yet differ both in the object and sub-

torie" to this edition of his "Pilgrimage" is dated November 5, 1612, — the year borne upon the titlepage of the Oxford tract, — though the titlepage of the "Pilgrimage" is dated 1613. In the second edition of the "Pilgrimage," London, 1614, p. 760, the passage above cited is given; but a marginal note on the words "a Manuscript" reads, "Since printed at Oxford."

ject: This being mine own in matter (though borrowed) and in forme of words and method. Whereas my Pilgrims are the Authors themselues, acting their owne parts in their owne words," &c.

The second contemporary account of the settlement of Virginia which will be noticed is, Percy's narrative in Purchas, vol. iv. pp. 1685-1690, published in 1625, and entitled —

"Obferuations gathered out of a Discourse of the Plantation of the Southerne Colonie in Virginia by the English, 1606. Written by that Honorable Gentleman Master George Percy."

This writer was a brother of the celebrated Earl of Northumberland. He was one of the first colonists, and succeeded Smith as temporary Governor of the plantation. We have no means of knowing how long a period this narrative embraced, as Purchas unfortunately has printed only an abridgment of it, in six of his folio pages, ending in September, 1607. "The rest," he says, "is omitted, being more fully set downe in Cap. Smiths Relations." Percy gives a minute detail of the incidents of the first voyage, and of the movements of the colonists after their arrival at Cape Henry until the 14th of May when the party were "landed" at Jamestown; matters scarcely touched upon by the other narrators. All that is preserved to us of this "Discourse" is valuable; for it embraces throughout, many details which are to be met with nowhere else. It had been previously cited by Pur-

chas in the second edition of the "Pilgrimage," published in 1614, on pages 757, 768.

Third, "Newport's Discoveries in America," published for the first time in 1860, in vol. iv. of "Archæologia Americana," and embracing twenty-five pages of that work. The account published under the above head consists of three papers, the most extended of which is entitled "A Relatyon of the Discovery of our river, from James Forte into the Maine; made by Capt. Christopher Newport, and sincerely written and observed by a Gentleman of the Colony." This "Relatyon" is principally confined to an account of the voyage from Jamestown up the river to the "Falls," where Richmond is now situated, and back again to Jamestown: beginning "May 21" (or May 22, according to the "True Relation"), seven days after the first "landing" at Jamestown; and ending 21st June, the day before Newport sailed for England. The second paper, of four pages, is entitled "The Description of the new-discovered river and country of Virginia; with the liklyhood of ensuing riches, by England's ayd and industry." The concluding paper, of only a little more than two pages, is "A brief description of the People." The authorship of these papers is unknown. They were printed from copies made under the direction of the Hon. George Bancroft, from the originals in the English State-

Paper Office ; and were edited by the Rev. Edward E. Hale.

Mr. Bancroft has still a large number of unpublished manuscripts relating to the early history of Virginia, copied for him in the public offices in England. These he has kindly submitted to my inspection, and given me full liberty to use such portions of them as might prove conducive to the illustration of this tract. The principal part of these papers refers to a little later period in the history of Virginia than that which is included in this narrative. I have copied the title of one paper in a note on page 14, "A Briefe Declaration," &c., which gives a general view of the state of the colony from its commencement down to the year 1624.

Fourth, "A Discourse of Virginia," by Edward Maria Wingfield, the first President of the Colony, printed for the first time in the fourth volume of the "Archæologia Americana," and embracing twenty-eight pages of that work. It was procured for me from the original in the Lambeth Library, shortly before it was printed. The narrative begins with the sailing of Newport for England, 22d June, 1607; and ends 21st May, 1608, on the author's arrival in England. Some half a dozen pages at the conclusion are taken up in a defence of himself from charges of unfaithfulness in duty, on which he had been deposed from the presidency and from the council. The nar-

rative of Wingfield was cited for the first time by Purchas in the margin of the second edition of his "Pilgrimage" (1614), pp. 757, 768. Purchas also refers to "M. Wingfield's notes" in the margin of p. 1706 of vol. iv. of his "Pilgrimes," where he is giving an account of the assault on the fort at Jamestown, just before the return of Newport's party of discovery up the river. He says: "The Fort assaulted by the Sauages. I have also M. Wingfield's notes of these affaires, but would not trouble the Reader here with things more then troublesome there." Wingfield's "Discourse," above referred to, does not include events that occurred so early as the attack on the fort. Possibly he wrote more, which is now lost. In the "Pilgrimage" is a reference to Wingfield for a fact certainly not embraced in the "Discourse" in its present form.

The above, with the tract here reprinted, comprise all the original or contemporaneous accounts of the settlement of the colony of Jamestown which have come under my observation. A few incidents, here and there, may be gathered from other sources, particularly from some of Smith's later publications. Strachey's "Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia," &c., published by the Hakluyt Society in 1849, so far as it relates to the southern part of Virginia, is rather a topographical and geographical description of the country, than an account of the English colony

residing there. The author, who was Secretary of the colony, did not arrive at Jamestown till 23d May, 1610; and he remained there only one or two years. A considerable portion of the Oxford tract of 1612 — more particularly the first part, written by Smith — was adopted by Strachey, and interwoven into his own narrative, without acknowledgment.

The interesting letter of Strachey, written from Jamestown, 15th July, 1610, and published in Purchas's "Pilgrimes," vol. iv. pp. 1734-1756, contains, on page 1752, a few brief incidents of Newport's first arrival, in April, 1608; but these, of course, must have been communicated to him by other persons.

Stith's "History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia," &c., published at Williamsburg in 1747, can hardly be embraced in the category of original narratives of this early period; though we are obliged to consult this volume for the letters patent, and the orders and instructions from His Majesty, under which the colony was first settled. Stith was chiefly indebted to the "Generall Historie" for the material of his work relating to this colony.

Other tracts on Virginia, published just after the "True Relation," do not contain a history of the first settlement of the colony, but were the result of a fresh attempt to encourage emigration thither, in view of the issuing of a new charter (dated 23d May, 1609), with a larger number of patentees, and with more

ample powers and privileges. The tracts which followed these, for a year or two, gave the results of the expeditions which sailed after the new grant had been procured.

I learned from the "Historical Magazine" for July, 1861 (p. 224), that a "Relation of Virginia," written by Henry Spelman, "the third son of the antiquary," who came to this colony in 1609, had just then been printed in England, from the original manuscript formerly owned by Dawson Turner.

My correspondent in London, to whom I wrote for a copy of the book, writes to me under date of 9th January, 1866, that the manuscript was bought at Dawson Turner's sale by Lilly, the bookseller, who printed fifty copies, and advertised them to be sold at five shillings apiece; but that no copies had been sold, and, at the time of his writing, the books could not even be found.

Spelman (or *Spilman*, as he is called in the "General Historie," pp. 108, 161) was a boy when he first went to Virginia. He lived for a long time with the Indians, and became some years after an interpreter for the colony. Of course, his narrative, so far as it relates to his own experience in the colony, would be subsequent to the period of Smith's "True Relation."

The settlement at Jamestown, as is well known, was made under the authority of the company that owed its existence to the patent of King James, "dated

the 10th of April, 1606," which divided the portion of North America stretching from the 34th to the 45th degree of latitude into two districts. The Southern or First Colony was granted to the London Company; the Northern or Second Colony was granted to the Plymouth Company. The charter authorized Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hakluyt, Edward Maria Wingfield, and their associates of the First Colony, to settle in any part of the Southern district that they might choose, between the degrees of 34 and 41; vesting in them a right of property in the land extending along the ~~coast fifty miles on each side of the place of their first habitation~~, and reaching one hundred miles into the interior. The Northern district was assigned to certain knights, gentlemen, and merchants of Bristol, Exeter, Plymouth, and other parts of the West of England, with a similar grant of territory between the degrees of 38 and 45; provided "that the plantation and habitation of such of the said colonies as shall last plant themselves, as aforesaid, shall not be made within one hundred like English miles of the other of them that first began to make their Plantation, as aforesaid."

The charter provided that each colony should have a local council of thirteen; but the supreme government of the colonies was vested in a council, consisting of the same number, resident in England, to be nominated by the king.

Besides the charter, the king gave divers instructions and orders under his sign-manual and privy seal, dated 20th November, 1606. Stith's History should be consulted for the minute details respecting these early official papers. The king directed that the first colonial councillors should be nominated and appointed by His Majesty's Council in England.

"The transportation of the colony," says Stith, was committed "to Captain Christopher Newport, who was esteemed a mariner of ability and experience on the American coasts. For he had fourteen years before, Anno 1592, with much reputation and honour, conducted an expedition against the Spaniards in the West Indies; where, with three ships and a small bark, he took several prizes, plundered and burnt some towns, and got a considerable booty.

"To him therefore, by an instrument, bearing date the 10th of December, 1606, under the legal seal of the council, they gave power to appoint all captains, soldiers, and mariners, and to have the sole charge and command of the same, and of the whole voyage, from the date thereof, till they should land on the coast of Virginia; and in case of his death, the several captains of the ships and bark were ordered and impowered, to proceed and carry them to the coast of Virginia aforesaid. To Captain Newport, Capt. Bartholomew Gosnold, and Captain John Ratcliffe, they also delivered severall instruments, close sealed with the coun-

cil's seal, which they, the survivors, or survivor of them, should, within twenty four hours after their arrival on the coast of Virginia, and not before, open and unseal, and publish the names of the persons, therein set down, who should be declared and taken to be his Majesty's Council for that colony: That the said council should immediately proceed to the choice and nomination of a president, who should have two votes in all matters of controversy and question, where the voices happened to be equal; and should have full power and authority, with the advice of the rest of the council, or the greater part of them, to govern, rule, and command, all the captains and soldiers, with all other persons whatsoever of the said colony: And that the president, immediately upon his election, should, in the presence of the council and of twenty others of the principal adventurers in the voyage, to be by the president and council called thereto, take his oath, according to a form prescribed, to bear true allegiance to the king, and for the performance of his duty in the place and office of president; after which he should administer the like oath to each of the council particularly. And finally, Captain Newport was commanded, with such a number of men, as should be assigned him by the president and council, to bestow two months in the search and discovery of the rivers and ports of the country, and to give present order for the lading the two

ships (the bark being designed to remain in the country) with such principal commodities and merchandise, as could there be had and found, and to return with the said ships, full laden, bringing a particular account of every thing, by the last of May following, if God permit.

“To these orders the council added other instructions, by way of advice, concerning their strict observation of the above-mentioned ordinances by the King’s Majesty, delivered to them under the Privy Seal; concerning the choice of a place, and the manner of seating themselves; the necessary orders and methods of discovery; their caution before, and behavior towards, the natives; with various other counsels and directions for the better conducting themselves and the enterprise. And, as the council in England were ever solicitous and intent on the discovery of the South-Sea, as the certain and infallible way to immense riches, they were commanded, if they happened to discover divers navigable rivers, and among them any that had two main branches, if the difference was not great, to make choice of that which tended most towards the North-West; since the other sea, as they judged, would be soonest found that way. And they were to discover, if they could, whether the river, on which they seated, sprung out of the mountains or out of lakes. For, if it rose from any lake, it was likely that the passage to the other

sea would be the more easy, and that out of the same lake they might find some other stream, running the contrary way, towards the East-India, or South-Sea. And they concluded lastly and chiefly, that the way to prosper and obtain success was to make themselves all of one mind, for their own and their country's good, and to serve and fear God, the Giver of all goodness, since every plantation, which he did not plant, would certainly be rooted out." (Stith, pp. 42-44.)

All these orders and instructions were put into a box, and the expedition set sail from Blackwall on the 19th of December, 1606. It consisted of three ships,—the "Susan Constant," admiral, of one hundred tons, commanded by Captain Newport, and carrying seventy-one persons; the "God-speed," vice-admiral, of forty tons, commanded by Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, and carrying fifty-two persons; the "Discovery," rear-admiral (the pinnace), of twenty tons, commanded by Captain John Ratcliffe (or Ratliffe), and carrying twenty-one persons. As the number of the first planters was *one hundred and five*, thirty-nine of the above must have constituted the crews of the three ships.

Owing to "unprosperous winds," they were kept six weeks in sight of England; during which time, Mr. Hunt, their preacher, "was so weake and sicke, that few expected his recovery." The narrative in the "Generall Historie," at page 42, proceeds: "We

watered at the Canaries, we traded with the Salvages at *Dominica*; three weekes we spent in refreshing our selves amongst these west-India isles; in *Guardalupa* we found a bath so hot, as in it we boyled Porck as well as over the fire. And at a little Isle called *Monica*, we tooke from the bushes with our hands, neare two hogshheads full of Birds in three or four houres. In *Mevis*, *Mona*, and the Virgin Isles, we spent some time, where, with a lothsome beast like a Crocodil, called a Gwayn, Tortoises, Pellicans, Parrots, and fishes, we daily feasted. Gone from thence in search of *Virginia*, the company was not a little discomforted, seeing the Marriners had 3 dayes passed their reckoning and found no land, so that Captaine *Ratliffe* (Captaine of the Pinnace) rather desired to beare vp the helme to returne for *England*, then make further search. But God the guider of all good actions, forcing them by an extreame storme to hull all night, did driue them by his providence to their desired Port, beyond all their expectations, for never any of them had seene that coast. The first land they made they called *Cape Henry*," &c.

The number of the first planters, stated in the Oxford tract of 1612, is *one hundred and five*; and the names of sixty-six of these are there given. The "Generall Historie" — which states erroneously, but perhaps inadvertently, that the number of the first planters was just one hundred — gives the names of eighty-two persons, namely: —

"Mr. Edward Maria Wingfield, Captaine Bartholomew Gosnoll, Captaine Iohn Smith, Captaine Iohn Ratliffe, Captaine Iohn Martin, Captaine George Kendall," are designated as of the "Councel." "Mr. Robert Hunt, Preacher, Mr. George Percie, Anthony Gosnoll, George Flower, Cap. Gabriell Archer, Robert Fenton, Robert Ford, William Bruster, Edward Harrington, Dru Pickhouse, Thomas Iacob, Iohn Brookes, Ellis Kingston, Thomas Sands, Benjamin Beast, Iehu Robinson, Thomas Mouton, Eustace Clovill, Stephen Halthrop, Kellam Throgmorton, Edward Morish, Nathaniel Powell, Edward Browne, Robert Behethland, Iohn Penington, Ieremy Alicock, George Walker, Thomas Studley, Richard Crofts, Nicholas Houlgraue, Thomas Webbe, Iohn Waller, Iohn Short, William Tankard, William Smethes, Francis Snarsbrough, Richard Simons, Edward Brookes, Richard Dixon, Iohn Martin, Roger Cooke, Anthony Gosnold, Tho: Wotton, Chirurg, Iohn Stevenson, Thomas Gore, Henry Adling, Francis Midwinter, Richard Frith," who are named as gentlemen. "William Laxon, Edward Pising, Thomas Emry, Robert Small," who are recorded as carpenters. "Iohn Layden, William Cassen, George Cassen, Thomas Cassen, William Rodes, William White, Old Edward, Henry Tavin, George Goulding, Iohn Dods, William Iohnson, William Vnger," named as laborers. Then follow — "Iam: Read, Black-

smith; Ionas Profit, Sailor; Tho: Cowper, Barber; Will: Garrett, Bricklayer; Edward Brinto, Mason; William Loue, Taylor; Nic: Scot, Drum; Wil: Wilkinson, Chirurg; Samuel Collier, boy; Nat. Pecock, boy; Iames. Brumfield, boy; Richard Mouton, boy. With divers others to the number of 100 [105].”

The above list contains eighty-two names, if we consider “Anthony *Gosnoll*” and “Anthony *Gosnold*” to be two persons. I have always supposed the same person’s name to have been accidentally repeated. There are here nineteen names more than are given in the list in the Oxford tract, which also contains the names of four persons not included in the above, namely, “George Martin,” in the list of gentlemen; “Anas Todkill,” and “Iohn Capper,” with no designation; and “Iohn Herd, Bricklayer.”

Percy, in Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1690, gives the names of twenty-four persons* who had died by the 19th of September, 1607; and among these names are Iohn Asbie, Thomas Mounslic, and Robert Pennington, that are not in either of the lists above cited. Wingfield (“Discourse,” p. 100) speaks of “ould Short, the bricklayer,” who, I suppose, must be a different person from “Iohn Short,” the gentleman. We have, thus, the names of ninety of the first-comers.

* In the note, at page 13 of the following reprint, the number is inadvertently given as *twenty-three*. Percy’s record of the names of the deceased up to this time is very incomplete, for Smith tells us in the text, that “about the tenth of September there was about 46 of our men dead.”

In a note on page 5 of this reprint will be found a list of the names of four "maryners" and fourteen "saylors" who went with Newport and Captain Smith "to discover the James River." These belonged to the ships, and doubtless all returned to England with Newport.

The following is a list of the names of seventy-three of the one hundred and twenty persons constituting the "first supply" or reinforcement of the colony, who arrived, part of them with Newport in January, 1607-8; and part of them with Nelson, who, during a storm, had parted company with Newport, and did not arrive at Jamestown till the 22d of April ("Generall Historie," p. 55):—"Mathew Scrivener, Michaell Phittiplace, William Phittiplace, Ralph Morton, Richard Wyffing, Iohn Taverner, William Cantrell, Robert Barnes, Richard Fetherstone, George Hill, George Pretty, Nathaniell Causy, Peter Pory, Robert Cutler, Michaell Sicklemore, William Bentley, Thomas Coe, Doctor Russell, Ieffrey Abbot, Edward Gurgana, Richard Worley, Timothy Leeds, Richard Killingbeck, William Spence, Richard Progger, Richard Pots, Richard Mullinax, William Bayley, Francis Perkins, Iohn Harper, George Forest, Iohn Nichols, William Griuell," are designated as gentlemen. "Raymōd Goodison, William Simons, Iohn Spearman, Richard Bristow, William Perce, Iames Watkins, Iohn Bouth, Christopher Rods,

Richard Burket, James Burre, Nicholas Ven, Francis Perkins, Richard Gradon, Rawland Nelstrop, Richard Savage, Thomas Savage, Richard Milmer, William May, Vere, Michael, Bishop Wiles, Labourers. Thomas Hope, William Ward, John Powell, William Yong, William Beckwith, and Larence Towtales, Taylers. Thomas Field, John Harford, Apothecaries; Dani: Stallings, Jeweller; Will: Dawson, a refiner; Abram Ransack, a refiner; Wil: Johnson, a Goldsmith; Peter Keffer, a gunsmith; Rob: Alberton, a perfumer; Richard Belfield, a Goldsmith; Post Ginnat, a Chirurg; John Lewes, a Cooper; Robert Cotton, a Tobacco-pipe maker; Richard Dole, a Blacksmith. And divers others to the number of 120."

The "second supply" arrived in the autumn of 1608, and consisted of seventy persons, including two women,— "the first Gentlewoman and woman-servant that arrived in our *Colony*." The names of fifty-eight of these seventy may be seen in the "Generall Historie," pp. 72, 73. I do not copy them here, as they refer to a period in the history of the colony after the time covered by the "True Relation."

Captain Smith was about twenty-eight years of age when he came to Virginia. He had previously, while a very young man, travelled in the East; and many years afterwards, in 1630, he published an ac-

count of his adventures there under the title of "The True Travels," &c. He was born at Willoughby, in Lincolnshire, about 1579, as may be inferred from the inscription on his portrait in the corner of his map of New England, — "Æta. 37. A° 1616." He died on "the 21st of June, 1631," as appears from an inscription on a monument in St. Sepulcher's Church, London, erected to his memory by a friend. The publications which bear his name are —

A True Relation, &c. London, 1608.

A Map of Virginia, &c. Oxford, 1612.

A Description of New England, &c. London, 1616.

New Englands Trials, &c. London, 1620. Second edition. 1622.

The Generall Historie, &c. London, 1624. Also re-issued (not reprinted) in 1626, 1627, and twice in 1632, — the year after Smith's death; the date on the titlepage being altered to correspond to those years.

An Accidence or the Pathway to Experience, &c. London, 1626.

A Sea Grammar, &c. London, 1627. Other editions, 1653 and 1699.

The True Travels, &c. London, 1630.

Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters of New England, &c. London, 1631.

An admirable account of "The Life and Adventures of Captain John Smith; by George S. Hillard," was published in Sparks's "American Biography," in 1834.

Preface.

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I would express my grateful acknowledgments to Mr. JAMES LENOX, of New York, and to Harvard College, through the courtesy of its Librarian, Mr. J. L. SIBLEY, for the use of copies of the original "True Relation," during the preparation of the present impression.

C. D.

CAMBRIDGE, Massachusetts,
May, 1866.





A .

A T R V E R E lation of such occur-

rences and accidents of noate as
hath hapned in Virginia since the first
planting of that Collony, which is now
resident in the South part thereof, till
the last returne from
thence.

*Written by Captaine Smith Coronell of the said Collony, to a
worshipfull friend of his in England.*



L O N D O N

Printed for *John Tappe*, and are to bee solde at the Grey-
hound in Paules-Church-yard, by *W. W.*

1 6 0 8



To the Courteous Reader.

Courteous, Kind, & indifferent Readers, whose willingnesse to reade & heare this following discourse, doth explaine to the world your hearty affection, to the prosecuting and furtherance of so worthy an action: so it is, that like to an vnskilfull actor, who hauing by misconstruction of his right Cue, ouer-flipt himselfe, in beginning of a contrary part, and fearing the hatefull hisse of the captious multitude, with a modest blush retires himselfe in priuate; as doubting the reprehension of his whole audience in publicke, and yet againe vpon further deliberation, thinking it better to know their censures at the first, and vpon submission to reape pardon, then by seeking to smother it, to incur the danger of a secret scandall: Imboldening himselfe vpon the courteous kindnesse of the best, and not greatly respecting the worst, comes fourth againe, makes an Apologie for himselfe, shewes the cause of his error, craues pardon for his rashnes, and in fine, receiues a generall applauditie of the whole assemblie: so I gentle Readers, happening vpon this relation by chance (as I take it, at the second or third hand) induced thereunto by diuers well willers of the action, and none wishing better towards it then my selfe, so farre forth as my poore abilitie can or may stretch too, I thought good to publish it: but the Author being

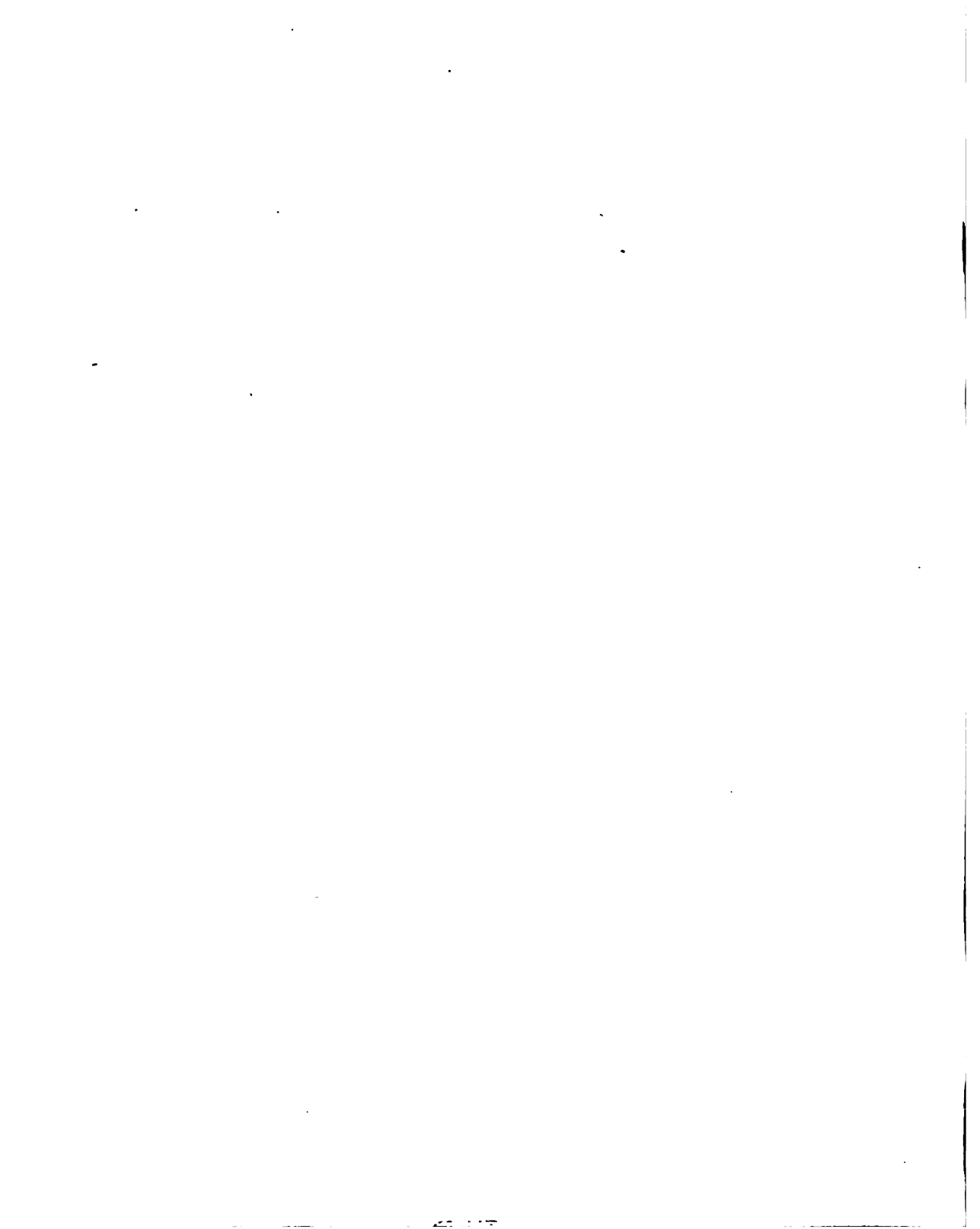
absent from the presse, it cannot be doubted but that some faults haue escaped in the printing, especially in the names of Countries, Townes, and People, which are somewhat strange vnto vs: but most of all, and which is the chiefe error (for want of knowledge of the Writer) some of the bookes were printed vnder the name of *Thomas Watson*, by whose occasion I know not, vnlesse it were the ouer rashnesse, or mistaking of the workemen, but since hauing learned that the faide discourse was written by Captaine *Smith*, who is one of the Counsell there in *Virginia*: I thought good to make the like Apologie, by shewing the true Author so farre as my selfe could learne, not doubting, but that the wise noting it as an error of ignorance, will passe it ouer with patience, and if worthy an applauditie, to referue it to the Author, whose paines in my iudgement deserueth commendations; somewhat more was by him written, which being as I thought (fit to be priuate) I would not aduenture to make it publicke what more may be expected concerning the scituation of the Country, the nature, of the clime, number of our people there resident, the manner of their gouernment, and liuing, the commodities to be produced, & the end & effect it may come too, I can say nothing more then is here written, only what I haue learned and gathered from the generall consent of all (that I haue conuersed withall) aswell marriners as others, which haue had employmēt that way; is that the Country is excellēt & pleasant, the clime temperate and health full, the ground fertill and good, the commodities to be expected (if well followed) many, for our people, the worst being already past, these former hauing indured the heate of the day, whereby those that shall succeede, may at ease labour for their profit, in the most sweete, coole, and temperate shade: the action most honorable, and the end to the high glory of God, to the erecting of

true religion among Infidells, to the ouerthrow of superstition and idolatrie, to the winning of many thousands of wandring sheepe, vnto Christs fold, who now, and till now, haue strayed in the vnknowne paths of Paganisme, Idolatrie, and superstition: yea, I say the Action being well followed, as by the graue Senators, and worthy aduenturors, it hath beene worthily begunne: will tend to the euerlasting renowne of our Nation, and to the exceeding good and benefit of our Weale publicke in generall: whose Counsells, labours, godly and industrious endeouours, I beseech the mightie *Iehouah* to blesse, prosper, and further, with his heauenly ayde, and holy assistance.

Farewell.

I. H.







A
True relation of such occurrences
 and accidents of note, as hath hapned in *Vir-*
ginia, since the first planting of that Collony,
which is now resident in the South part
 thereof, till the last returne.



Inde Sir,¹ commendations remem-
 bred, &c. You shall vnderstand
 that after many crosses in the
 downes by tempests² wee arrived
 safely vppon the Southwest part
 of the great Canaries: within foure
 or five daies after we fet saile for
 Dominica, the 26. of Aprill: the first land we made,
 wee fell with Cape Henry, the verie mouth of the

¹ There is no clue given to the person to whom this narrative is addressed.

² "On the 19 of December, 1606. we set saile from Blackwall, but by vnprosperous winds were kept six weekes in the fight of *England*." — *Smith's Generall Historie, London, 1624, p. 41.* The volume here cited is chiefly a compilation of the writ-

ings of various authors, including the most of Smith's previous publications, relating to this country; and, as regards the text of the latter, certainly with some changes and additions. The passage quoted is from that part of the work which had been originally printed at Oxford in 1612, in a tract entitled "Map of Virginia," &c. The first

Bay of Chiffapiacke,¹ which at that present we little expected, hauing by a cruell storme bene put to the

part of this tract, being chiefly topographical and geographical, was written by Smith, as he says ("Generall Historie," p. 39), "with his owne hand;" the second part, which is here cited, was not originally written by Smith, but by his companions. Although I have both the Oxford tract and the "Generall Historie" before me, I shall quote from the "Generall Historie," the later work. Where important variations occur, I shall notice them.

"On Saturday the twentieth of December in the yeere 1606. the fleet fell from *London*, and the fift of Ianuary we anchored in the *Downes*: but the winds continued contrarie so long, that we were forced to stay there some time, where wee suffered great stormes, but by the skilfulnesse of the Capitaine wee suffered no great losse or danger."—*Percy, in Purchas*, vol. iv. p. 1685. The Honorable George Percy, here cited, was one of the first comers, and subsequently became a temporary governor of the colony. He was a brother of the Earl of Northumberland, and a "gentleman of great honor, courage, and industry." He probably came with no intention of remaining permanently in the colony. *Purchas* gives us only that portion of the narrative of Percy down to the last of September, 1607. How much he omitted, alas! we have no means

of knowing. "The rest," he says, "is omitted, being more fully set downe in Cap. Smiths Relations."

¹ This passage should be punctuated thus: "Within four or five days after, we set sail for *Dominica*. The 26th of April, the first land we made, we fell with Cape Henry," &c.

"The foure and twentieth day [of February, 1606-7,] we anchored at *Dominico*. . . . The tenth day [of April] we . . . disimboged out of the *West Indies*, and bare our course Northerly. The fourteenth day we passed the Tropicke of *Cancer*. The one and twentieth day, about five a clocke at night there began a vehement tempest, which lasted all the night, with winds, raine, and thunders, in a terrible manner. Wee were forced to lie at Hull that night, because we thought wee had beene neerer land then wee were. The next morning, being the two and twentieth day, wee foundered; and the three and twentieth and foure and twentieth day, but we could find no ground. The five and twentieth day we foundered, and had no ground at an hundred fathom. The fix and twentieth day of Aprill, about foure a clocke in the morning, wee descried the Land of *Virginia*: the same day wee entred into the Bay of *Chesupioc* directly."—*Percy, in Purchas*, vol. iv. pp. 1685, 1686.

Northward: anchoring in this Bay twentie or thirtie went a shore with the Captain, and in comming aboard, they were assailed with certaine Indians,¹ which charged them within Pistoll shot: in which conflict, Captaine Archer and Mathew Morton were shot: whereupon, Captaine Newport seconding them, made a shot at them, which the Indians little respected, but hauing spent their arrowes retyred without harme, and in that place was the Box opened, wherein the Counsell for Virginia was nominated:² and arriuing at the place where wee are now seated, the Counsell was sworn, & the President elected, which for that yeare was Maister

¹ They went ashore at Cape Henry, and "were assaulted by five Salvages" ("Generall Historie," p. 42) of the Chesapeake or Nansemond tribe.

² "That night was the box opened ['Their orders for government were put in a box, not to be opened, nor the governours knowne vntill they arriued in Virginia.'—*Generall Historie*, p. 41.] and the orders read, in which *Bartholomew Gosnoll, John Smith, Edward Wingfield, Christopher Newport, John Ratcliffe, John Martin, and George Kendall*, were named to be the Councill, and to choose a President amongst them for a yeare, who with the Councill should gouerne. Matters of moment were to be examined by a Iury, but determined by the maior part of the Councill, in which the President had two voyces.

Vntil the 13 of May they fought a place to plant in, then the Councill was sworn, Mr. *Wingfield* was chosen President, and an oration made, why Captain *Smith* was not admitted of the Counsell as the rest."—*Generall Historie*, p. 42. Smith "was not admitted of the counsell" for the reason that he had been "suspected for a supposed Mutinie," on the voyage over; "though neuer no such matter."—*Purchas*, vol. iv. p. 1685. He was subsequently restored. Although Captain *Newport* was named of the Council, yet he "was hired onely for our transportation," and "was to returne with the ships." He "was esteemed a Mariner of Ability and Experience on the *American Coasts*."—*Generall Historie*, pp. 42, 43. *Stitt's Virginia*, pp. 42, 47.

Edm. Maria Wingfield, where was made choice for our scituation, a verie fit place for the erecting of a great cittie, about which some contention passed betwixt Captaine Wingfield and Captaine Gosnold, notwithstanding all our prouision was brought a shore, and with as much speede as might bee wee went about our fortification.¹

¹ Jamestown, the first permanent English settlement within the limits of the present United States, was on a peninsula on the north side of the Powhatan, now James, River, about forty miles from its mouth. — *Stith*, p. 45.

✓ The settlement or "landing" at Jamestown was begun, according to Percy, on the 14th of May. He gives a minute account of the movements of the colonists from the time of their arrival within the Bay of Chesapeake till their selection of and landing on this spot, an interval which is supplied by no other narrator of these early events. The opening of the box which contained "their orders for government," was, as we have just seen, on the night of their arrival at Cape Henry, on the 26th of April. On the 27th, they began to "build vp" their shallop, while a party marched eight miles up into the land. These saw no Indians, but met with many newly roasted oysters. The 28th, they launched their shallop, and "the Captaine and some Gentlemen went in her and discovered vp the Bay," and found

"a Riuer on the Southside running into the Maine." After exploring for some time, and finding good store of muscles and oysters, goodly trees, and flowers of diuers kinds and colors, and also strawberries, they stood back to their ships, "which road at the mouth of the Riuer." They found the water shallow; but, rowing over to a point of land where they found from six to twelve fathoms of water, they were put "in good comfort," and named the place "Cape Comfort," or "Point Comfort," the name it bears to-day. On the 29th, they set up a cross at Chesapeake Bay, and named the place "Cape Henry," after Prince Henry, the son of James I. Subsequently, the opposite point was named for this prince's younger brother, Charles, afterwards the unfortunate king, Charles I. The next day, they brought their ships over to Point Comfort, and, manning their shallop, coasted to the Indian town "Kecoughtan," now Hampton, where they were kindly received. They continued on up the river, and had interviews with the chiefs of

The two and twenty day of April,¹ Captain Newport and myselfe with diuers others, to the number of

two of the Indian tribes residing in the neighborhood. On the 8th of May, they "landed in the Countrey of *Apamatica*," where they saw "many stout and able Sauages."

On the 12th, they went back to their ships, which lay at Point Comfort; and, perhaps on their return again up the river with their vessels, "discovered a point of Land called *Archer's Hope*." There the party would have made a settlement, "if it had not beene disliked, because the ship could not ride neere the shore. . . . The thirteenth day wee came to our seating place in *Paspihas* countrey, some eight miles from the point of Land, which I made mention before: where our shippes doe lie so neere the shoare that they are moored to the Trees in fix fathom water."—*Percy, in Purchas*, vol. iv. pp. 1687, 1688.

¹ May is of course here intended. In the minute and valuable "Relation" of the discovery of James River, published in the "*Archæologia Americana*," vol. iv. pp. 40-65, the writer says, "Thursday, the 21st of May, Capt. Newport (having fitted our shallop with provision and all necessaries belonging to a discovery) took five gentlemen, four maryners, and fourteen saylors; with whome he proceeded, with a perfect resolution not to returne, but either to finde the head of this ryver, the laake mentyoned by others heretofore, the sea againe, the mountaynes

Apalatfi [*Appalachian?*], or some issue."

The names of the discoverers were these:—

Capt. Christop. Newport.
George Percy, Esq.,
Capt. Gabriell Archer,
Capt. Jhon Smyth,
Mr. Jhon Brooks,
Mr. Thomas Wotton,

Maryners.

Francys Nellson,
John Collson,
Robert Tyndall,
Mathew Fytch.

1. Jonas Poole,
2. Robert Markham,
3. John Crookdeck,
4. Olyver Browne,
5. Benjamyn White,
6. Rych. Genoway,
7. Tho. Turnbrydg,
8. Tho. Godword,
9. Robert Jackson,
10. Charles Clarke,
11. Stephen [sic],
12. Thomas Skynner,
13. Jeremy Deale,
14. Danyell [sic].

"Thus from James Fort wee took our leave about noone; and by night we were up the ryver thirteen myle, at a lowe meadow point, which I call Wynauk. . . . Here we anchored all night." It will be

{ twenty two persons, set forward to discover the Riuer, some fiftie or sixtie miles, finding it in some places broader, & in some narrower, the Countrie (for the moste part) on each side plaine high ground, with many fresh Springes, the people in all places kindly entreating vs, daunsing and feasting vs with strawberies, Mulberies, Bread, Fish, and other their Countrie provisions wherof we had plenty: for which Captaine Newport kindly requited their least fauours, with Bels, Pinnes, Needles, beades or Glasse, which so contented them that his liberallitie made them follow vs from place to place, and euer kindly to respect vs. In the midway staying to refresh our selues in a little Ile¹ foure or fiue sauages came vnto vs which described vnto vs the course of the Riuer, and after in our iourney, they often met vs, trading with vs for such provision as wee had, and arriuing at Arfatecke,² hee ✓

seen, further on, that Smith speaks of "Weanock" as "some twentie miles from our Fort." On his map, he places "Weanock" at the mouth of the "Appamatuck" River; which is a mistake, if intended to represent the place at which the party on this expedition anchored the first night. On Fry and Jefferson's map of Virginia, published in the year 1776, "Weynock" is placed near a point of land on the north, opposite "Flower de Hundred Creek," which is a little to the west of the present Fort Powhatan, about twenty miles from Jamestown.

It is not improbable that "Weanock" represented a considerable extent of country on both sides the river.

¹ Perhaps near the present "Turkey Point."—*Proceedings Am. Antiq. Soc.* for Oct., 1864, p. 63, note †. This was on the second day, May 22, according to the "Relatyon" cited above. The number of Indians they met here is described as *eight*. The second night they passed at a place they called "Poore Cottage." Percy calls it "Port Cotage."

² Or "Arrohateck," laid down on Smith's map as a little above the

whom we supposed to bee the chiefe King of all the rest, moste kindly entertained vs, giuing vs in a guide to go with vs up the Riuer to Powhatan, of which place their great Emperor taketh his name, where he that they honored for King vsed vs kindly. But to finish this discouerie, we passed on further, where within an ile we were intercepted with great craggy stones y^e in¹ midst of the riuer, where the water falleth so rudely, and with such a violence, as not any boat can possibly passe,² and so broad disperfeth the streame, as there is not past fise or fixe foote at a low water, and to the shore scarce passage with a barge, the water floweth foure foote, and the freshes by reason of the Rockes haue left markes of the inundations 8. or 9. foote: The South side is plaine low ground, and the north side high mountaines, the rockes being of a grauelly nature, interlaced with many vains of glistering spangles. That night we returned to Powhatan: the next day (being Whitfunday³ after dinner) we returned to the fals, leauing a mariner in pawn with the Indians for a guide of theirs, hee that they honoured

spot since called "Farrar's Island," or the now famous "Dutch Gap;" probably near "Cox's Ferry." This was on the 23d, Saturday. The chief whom the party here met was not the Emperor, as was at first supposed, but an inferior king, or "Werowance," who resided at a place called "Powhatan," one of the "seats" of

the Emperor, to which the explorers were invited. This place was within a mile of the Falls, now Richmond.

¹ "In the midst."

² This is the fall at the present city of Richmond.

³ The 24th of May.

for King followed vs by the riuer. That afternoone we trifled in looking vpon the Rockes and riuer (further he would not goe) so there we erected a croffe,¹ and that night taking our man at Powhatans, Cap. Newport congratulated his kindenes with a Gown and a Hatchet; returning to Arfetecke,² and stayed there the next day³ to obferue the height thereof. & so with many signes of loue we departed. The next day the Queene of Agamatack kindly intreated vs,⁴ her people being no lesse contented then the rest, and from thence we went to another place, (the name whereof I do not remember) where the people shewed vs the manner of their diuing for Muffels, in which they finde Pearles.⁵

That night passing by Weanock some twentie miles from our Fort, they according to their former churlish condition, seemed little to affect vs, but as wee departed and lodged at the point of Weanocke,⁶ the people the next morning seemed kindly to content vs,

¹ "With this inscriptyon, 'Iacobus Rex, 1607;' and Percy says they named the River, King's Riuer, and "proclaimed King James of England to have the most right vnto it."—*Purchas*, vol. iv. p. 1689; *A Relatyon*, &c., p. 47.

² Where they spent Sunday night.

³ Monday, the 25th.

⁴ Tuesday, the 26th. A minute description of this queen of Appomattox is given in the "Relatyon"

of this discovery cited above, p. 51.

⁵ It was to one of "King Pomaunche's howfes, some five myle from the queene's bower," that they were now directed, and where they were very "kyndly saluted."—*Ibid.*, p. 52.

⁶ By this it appears that "the point of Weanocke" was a little distance south of the Indian village of that name.

yet we might perceiue many signes of a more Jealoufie in them then before, and also the Hinde that the King of Arfeteck had giuen vs,¹ altered his resolution in going to our Fort, and with many kinde circumstances left vs there. This gaue vs some occasion to doubt some mischief at the Fort, yet Capt. Newport intended to haue visited Paspahegh and Tappahanocke,² but the instant change of the winde being faire for our return we repaired to the fort with all speed,³ where the first we heard was that 400. Indians the day before had assailed the fort, & surprised it, had not God, (beyond al their expectations) by meanes of the shippes at whom they shot with their Ordinances & Muskets, caused them to retire, they had entred the fort with our own men, which were then busied in setting Corne, their armes beeing then in driefats⁴ & few ready but certain Gentlemē of their own, in which conflict, most of the Counsell was hurt, a boy slaine in the Pinnas, and thirteene or fourteene more hurt.

¹ His name was "Navirans." — *Ibid.*, p. 46.

² Two chiefs or tribes residing on the James river, a few miles above Jamestown. The residence of the former is indicated on Smith's map as on the north side of the river; and that of the latter, whose name as here spelled is a corruption of "Coiacohanauke" or "Quiyoughcohanoack," on the south side. Percy calls the chief of the latter tribe "the Werowance of *Rapahanna*."

The name "Paspahegh" was applied by the Indians to the territory which included Jamestown. — *Wingfield's Discourse of Virginia, in Archæol. Amer.* vol. iv. pp. 78, 79; *Hamor's True Discovery*, &c., London, 1615, p. 38; *Strachey*, p. 56; *Generall Historie*, p. 23.

³ They arrived at the fort on the 27th of May. — *A Relatyon*, &c., p. 54.

⁴ Dryfat. A basket for dry things.

Withall speede we pallifadoed our Fort: (each other day) for fixe or seauen daies we had alarums by ambuscadoes, and foure or fve cruelly wounded by being abroad: the Indians losse wee know not, but as they report three were slain and diuers hurt.¹

Captaine Newport hauing fet things in order, fet

¹ "The 26th of May, being the day before our returne, there came above two hundred of them, with their kyng, and gave a very furious assault to our forte; endaungering their overthrowe, had not the shippe's ordinance, with their small shott, daunted them. They came up allmost into the forte; shott through the tents; appeared in this skirmishe (which indured hott about an hower) a very valient people. They hurt us eleven (whereof one dyed after) and killed a boy; yet perceived they not this hurt in us. We killed dyvers of them; but one wee saw them tugg off on their backs, and how many hurt we knowe not. . . . Foure of the counsell, that stood in front, were hurt in mayntayning the forte; and our president, Mr. Wynckfeild (who showed himselfe a valiant gentleman) had one shott cleane through his bearde, yet scaped hurte."—*A Relatyon*, &c., as above, pp. 54, 55. The narrative in the "Generall Historie" says there were "17 men hurt and a boy slaine" in this attack. This led the colonists to see the importance of completing their fortification, on which they

at once engaged. Percy says, "The fifteenth day of June we had built and finished our Fort, which was triangle wise, hauing three Bulwarkes at euery corner like a halfe Moone, and foure or fve pieces of Artillerie mounted in them; we had made our selues sufficiently strong for these sauages, &c."—*Purchas*, vol. iv. p. 1689. The savages still continued to lurk around the fort, but scarcely dared to venture within musket-shot. On Sunday, the 31st of May, "they came lurking in the thickets and long grasse, and a gentleman, one Eustace Clovell, unarmed, stragling without the forte, [they] shott six arrowes into him; wherewith he came runinge into the fort, crying, 'Arme, arme!' thes stycking still. He lived eight dayes, and dyed."—*A Relatyon*, &c., p. 55. "What toyle we had, with so small a power to guard our workemen adays, watch all night, resist our enemies, and effect our businesse, to relade the ships . . . and prepare the ground to plant our Corne, &c., I referre to the Readers consideration. Six weekes being spent in this manner, Captaine *Newport* (who was hired onely for ovr transf-

faile for England the 22d of June, leauing prouision for 13. or 14 weeks. The day before the Ships departure, the King of Pamaunke sent the Indian that had met vs before in our discouerie, to assure vs peace, our fort being then palisadoed round, and all our men in good health and comfort, albeit, that through some discontented humors, it did not so long continue, for the President and Captaine Gofnold, with the rest of the Counsell, being for the moste part

portation) was to returne with the ships. Now Captaine *Smith*, who all this time from their departure from the Canaries was restrained as a prisoner vpon the scandalous suggestions of some of the chiefe (envying his repute) who fained he intended to vsurpe the government, murder the Councell, and make himselfe King, that his confederats were dispersed in all the three ships, and that divers of his confederats that revealed it, would affirme it, for this he was committed as a prisoner: thirteene weekes he remained thus suspected, and by that time the ships should returne, they pretended out of their commiserations, to referre him to the Councell in *England* to receiue a check, rather then by particulating his designs make him so odious to the world, as to touch his life, or vtterly overthrow his reputation." — *Generall Historie*, pp. 42, 43. But by Capt. Newport's intercession, as appears by the "Relation" before cited (pp. 56, 57), harmony was restored, and Smith

was "sworne one of the counsell," to which he had been elected in England. This was on the 10th of June. Other interesting incidents are narrated as taking place up to the time of the sailing of Newport. On the 15th, "We wrought upon Clapborde for England." On Sunday, the 21st, the Communion was administered. Percy says that Newport left in the colony at this time 104 persons. In the "Generall Historie," p. 43, it is erroneously stated that the number of the first planters was 100. The more correct statement, that the number was 105, is in the original narrative in the Oxford tract of 1612. Perhaps Mr. Clovell was the only person who had died, belonging to the party of the colonists, up to this time. The date of Newport's sailing is wrongly given in the "Generall Historie" as the 15th. He sailed a week later, the 22d; and this date in the text is confirmed by Percy, and by the writer in the "Relatyon," cited above.

discontented with one another in so much, that things were neither carried with that discretion nor any busines effected in such good sort as wisdom would, nor our owne good, and safetie required, wherby, and through the hard dealing of our President, the rest of the counsell beeing diuerslie affected through his audacious commaund, and for Captaine Martin, (albeit verie honest) and wishing the best good, yet so sicke and weake, and my selfe so disgrac'd through others mallice, through which disorder God (being angrie with vs) plagued vs with such famin and sicknes, that the liuing were scarce able to bury the dead: our want of sufficient and good victualls, with continuall watching, foure or fve each night at three Bulwarkes, being the chiefe cause: onely of Sturghion wee had great store, whereon our men would so greedily furefet, as it cost manye their liues: the Sack, Aquauitie, and other preseruatiues for our health, being kept onely in the Presidents hands, for his owne diet, and his few associates: shortly after Captaine Gofnold fell sicke, and within three weekes died,¹ Captaine Ratcliffe being then also verie sicke and weake, and my selfe hauing also tasted of the extremitie therof, but by Gods assistāce being well recouered. Kendall about this time, for diuers reasons deposed from being of the Councell: and shortly after it pleased God (in our extremity) to moue the Indians to bring vs Corne,

¹ Gofnold died 22 August. — *Percy, in Purchas*, vol. iv. p. 1690.

ere it was halfe ripe, to refresh vs, when we rather expected when they would destroy vs: about the tenth of September there was about 46. of our men dead,¹ at which time Captaine Wingfield hauing

¹ "From May, to September, those that escaped liued vpon Sturgeon and Sea-crabs, fittie in this time we buried." — *Generall Historie*, p. 44. "We myssed about forty before September did see us." — *Wingfield*, as above, p. 79. Percy gives a sad picture of the sufferings and mortality of the colonists at this time; and the reader cannot fail to notice a striking parallel between their condition and that of the Pilgrims at Plymouth during the first winter and spring. He gives the names of *twenty-three* persons who died between the 6th August and the 19th September, inclusive, embracing the name of Bartholomew Gofnold, who died the 22d August. "Our men," he says, "were destroyed with cruell diseases, as Swellings, Flixes, Burning Feuers, and by warres, and some departed suddenly; but for the most part they died of meere famine. There were neuer *Englismen* left in a forreigne Countrey in such miserie as wee were in this new discovered *Virginia*. Wee watched every three nights lying on the bare cold ground what weather foeuer came, warded all the next day, which brought our men to bee most feeble wretches; our food was but a small Can of Barlie sod in water to sue men a day, our

drinke cold water taken out of the Riuer, which was at a flood verie salt, at a low tide full of slime and filth, which was the destruction of many of our men. Thus we liued for the space of sue moneths in this miserable distresse, not hauing sue able men to man our Bulwarkes vpon any occasion. If it had not pleased God to haue put a terrour in the Sauage's hearts, we had all perished by those vild and cruell Pagans, being in that weake estate as we were: our men night and day groaning in euery corner of the Fort most pittifull to heare; if there were any conscience in men, it would make their harts to bleed to heare the pittiful murmurings & out-cries of our sick men, without reliefe euery night and day for the space of fixe weekes, some departing out of the World, many times three or foure in a night, in the morning their bodies trailed out of their Cabines like Dogges to be buried: in this fort did I see the mortalitie of diuers of our people. It pleased God, after a while, to send those people which were our mortall enemies, to releue vs with victuals, as Bread, Corne, Fish, and Flesh in great plentie, which was the setting vp of our feeble men, otherwise wee had all

ordred the affairs in such fort that he was generally hated of all, in which respect with one consent he was depofed from his prefidencie, and Captaine Ratcliffe according to his courfe was elected.¹

Our prouifion being now within twentie dayes fpent, the Indians brought vs great ftore both of Corne and bread ready made: and alfo there came fuch aboundance of Fowles into the Riuers, as greatly refreshed our weake eftates, wherevppon many of our weake men were prefently able to goe abroad. As yet we had no houfes² to couer vs, our Tents were rotten, and

perifhed."—*Purchas*, vol. iv. p. 1690. This fad condition of the colony is alfo confirmed in "A Briefe Declaration of the Plantation of Virginia during the firft twelve years when Sr Thomas Smyth was Govern^r of the Companie [from 1606 to 1619], and downe to this prefent tyme [1624], by the Ancient Planters now remaining alive in Virginia;" a manuscript copy of which, from the original in the State-Paper Office, is in the poffeffion of Mr. Bancroft. On the arrival of Newport with the firft fupply, in January, 1608, it is here ftated that he "found the colony confiftinge of no more than Forty perfons; of thofe, tenn only able men."

¹ Wingfield was depofed 10th September. The charges here made againft him are repeated in the narrative in the "Generall Historie," which is uniformly favorable, if not defignedly partial, to Smith.

But Wingfield defends his adminiftration of affairs in Virginia in a paper entitled a "Discourfe of Virginia," firft published, in 1860, in the "Archæologia Americana," vol. iv., pp. 76-103, already referred to above, and which fhould be read in connection with the other narratives.

² The opportunities for public worfhip poffeffed by the colonifts in the early fettlement are well defcribed by Smith in one of his later publications: "When I went firft to *Virginia*, I well remember, wee did hang an awning (which is an old faile) to three or foure trees to fhadow us from the Sunne, our walls were rales of wood, our feats unhewed trees, till we cut planks, our Pulpit a bar of wood nailed to two neighbouring trees; in foule weather we fhifted into an old rotten tent, for we had few better, and this came by the way of adventure for new; this was our Church, till wee built

our Cabbins worfe then nought: our beſt commoditie was Yron which we made into little chiffels,¹ the preſident, and Captaine Martins ſicknes, conſtrayned me to be Cape Marchant,² and yet to ſpare no pains in making houſes for the company, who notwithstanding our miſery, little ceaſed their mallice, grudging and muttering. As at this time were moſt of our chiefeſt men either ſicke or diſcontented, the reſt being in ſuch diſpaire, as they would rather ſtarue and rot with idlenes, then be perſwaded to do any thing for their owne reliefe without conſtraint: our victualles being now within eighteene dayes ſpent, and the Indians trade decreaſing, I was ſent to the mouth of y^e riuer, to

a homely thing like a barne, ſet upon Cratchets, covered with rafts, fedge, and earth, ſo was alſo the walls: the beſt of our houſes of the like curioſity, but the moſt part farre much worſe workmanſhip, that could neither well defend wind nor raine, yet wee had daily Common Prayer morning and evening, every Sunday two Sermons, and every three moneths the holy Communion, till our Miniſter [Robert Hunt, the firſt clergyman of the colony, ‘an honeſt, religious, and courageous Divine’] died, but our Prayers daily, with an Homily on Sundaies; we continued two or three yeares after till more Preachers came: and ſurely God did moſt mercifully heare us, till the continuall inundations of miſtaking directions, factions, and numbers of unprovided Libertines

neere conſumed us all, as the Iſraelites in the wilderneſſe.”—*Advertiſements for Unexperienced Planters, &c.*, London, 1631, pp. 32, 33.

¹ A period here.

² Or Treafurer. Thomas Studly had before held this office; and we may ſuppoſe Percy refers to him when he ſays, “The eight and twentieth day [of Auguſt] died *Thomas Stoodie*, Cape Merchant;” though Studly’s name is given, in the ſecond part of the “Map of Virginia” (the Oxford tract before referred to), as the authority for a narrative of events running into a later period. Poſſibly ſome of thoſe whoſe names are appended to this part of the narrative, as it appears in its enlarged form in the “General Hiſtorie,” may have written a portion of it as originally published.

Kegquouhtan¹ an Indian Towne, to trade for Corne, and try the Riuer for Fish, but our fishing we could not effect by reason of the stormy weather. The Indians thinking vs neare famished, with carelesse kindnes, offred vs little pieces of bread, & small handfulls of beanes or wheat, for a hatchet or a piece of copper: In the like maner I entertained their kindnes, and in like sorne offered them like commodities, but the Children, or any that shewed extraordinary kindenes, I liberally contented with free gifte, such trifles as wel cōtented them: finding this colde comfort, I anchored before the Towne, and the next day returned to trade, but God (the absolute disposer of all heartes) altered their conceits, for now they were no lesse desirous of our commodities than we of their Corne: vnder colour to fetch fresh water, I sent a man to discover the Towne, their Corne, and force, to trie their intent, in that they desired me up to their houses: which well vnderstanding, with foure shot I visited them, with fish, oysters, bread and deere, they kindly traded with me and my men, beeing no lesse in doubt of my intent, then I of theirs, for well I might with twentie men haue fraighted a Shippe with Corne: The Towne conteineth eighteene houses, pleasantly seated

¹ Now Hampton. The account of this expedition, in the second part of the "Map of Virginia," is very briefly given; but it is much enlarged in the "Generall Historie;"

and a very extravagant story of a fight with the Indians, and other details, are given, quite inconsistent with this account, and probably with the truth.

vpon three acres of ground, vppon a plaine, halfe inuironed with a great Bay of the great Riuer, the other parte with a Baye of the other Riuer falling into the great Baye, with a little Ile fit for a Castle in the mouth thereof, the Towne adioyning to the maine by a necke of Land of fixtie yardes. With fixeene bushells of Corne I returned towards our Forte: by the way I encountered with two Canowes of Indians, who came aboard me, being the inhabitants of warofkoyack,¹ a kingdome on the south side of the riuer, which is in breadth 5. miles and 20 mile or neare from the mouth: with these I traded, who hauing but their hunting prouision, requested me to returne to their Towne, where I should load my boat with corne, & with near thirtie bushells I returned to the fort, the very name wherof gaue great comfort to our despairing company: time thus passing away, & hauing not aboute 14. daies vituals left, some motiōs were made about our presidents & Capt. Archers going for England, to procure a supply, in which meane time we had reasonbly fitted vs with houses, and our President & Capt. Martin being able to walk abroad, with much ado it was concluded, that the pinnace and barge should goe towards Powhatan,² to trade for corne: Lotts were cast who should go in her, the chance was mine,

¹ This place may be seen on Smith's map, on the south side of the Powhatan or James River, a little below "Hog Isle."

² That is, to the place bearing that name, near the "falls," on James River. — See page 7; also Smith's map.

& while she was a rigging, I made a voiage to Topohanack, where ariuing, there was but certain women & children who fled from their houfes, yet at laft I drew them to draw neere, truck they durft not, corne they had plenty, & to fpoil I had no cōmiffion: In my returne to Pafpahegh,¹ I traded with that churlifh & trecherous nation: hauing loaded 10 or 12 bufhels of corne, they offred to take our pieces and fwords, yet by ftelth, but feeming to diflike it, they were ready to affault vs, yet ftāding vpon our guard in coafting the fhore, diuers out of the woods would meet with vs with corn & trade, but leaft we fhould be constrained, either to indure ouermuch wrong or directly fal to reuenge, feeing them dog vs, from place to place, it being night, & our neceffitie not fit for warres, we tooke occafion to returne with 10 bufhells of corne: Cap. Martin after made 2 iournies to that nation of Pafpahegh but eache time returned with 8. or 10. bufhells. All things being now ready for my iourney to Powhatan, for the performance thereof, I had 8. men and my felfe for the barge, as well for difcouerie, as trading, the Pinnace, 5. Marriners, & 2. landmen to take in our ladings at conuenient places.² The 9 of Nouember I fet forward for the

¹ See page 9, note 2. I infer from this, and from other paffages, that "Pafpahegh," or the residence of the Indians of that tribe, was nearer to Jamestown than "Topohanack,"

or, as it is called on Smith's map, "Quiyoughcohanock." The former was on the north, and the latter on the fouth, fide of James River.

² If this iourney was made to Pow-

discouery of the country of Chikhamania, leaving the pinnace the next tide to followe and stay for my coming at Point weanock, 20 miles from our fort: the mouth of this riuer falleth into the great riuer at Paspahagh, 8 miles above our fort: that afternoone I stayed the eb, in the bay of Paspahagh with the Indiās: towards the euening certaine Indians haled me, one of them being of Chickahamania, offred to cōduct me to his country, the Paspabegheans grudged thereat: along we went by moonelight, at midnight he brought vs before his Towne, desiring one of our men to go vp with him, whom he kindly intertained, and returned back to the barge: the next morning I went vp to the towne, and shewed them what copper and hatchets they shold haue for corne, each family seeking to giue me most content: so long they caused me to stay y^t 100 at least was expecting my comming by the riuer with corne, what I liked I bought, and least they should perceiue my too great want I went higher vp the riuer: this place is called Manosquofick¹ a quarter of a mile from the riuer, conteining thirtie or fortie houses, vppon an exceeding high land: at the foote of the hill towards the riuer, is a plaine wood, watered with many springes, which fall twentie yardes right downe into the riuer: right against y^e same is a great

hatan, at this time, there is no account of it.

¹ "Menoscofic" may be seen on

Smith's map; perhaps some ten or twelve miles from the mouth of the Chickahominy, on that river.

✓ marsh, of 4. or 5. miles circuit, deuided in 2 Ilands, by the parting of the riuer, abounding with fish & foule of all forts: a mile from thence is a Towne called Oraniocke, I further discouered the Townes of Manfa, Apahaocke, Werawahone, & Mamanahūt¹ at eche place kindly vsed, especially at the last, being the hart of the Country, where were assembled 200. people with such abouūdāce of corne, as hauing laded our barge, as also I might haue laded a ship:² I returned to Paspahhegh, & confidering y^e want of Corne at our Fort, it being night, with y^e ebb, by midnight I ariued at our fort, where I found our Pinnis run aground: the next morning I vnladed seauē hogfheds into our store, the next morning I returned againe: the second day I ariued at Mamanahūt, wher y^e people hauing heard of my cōming, were ready with 3 or 400. baskets litle & great, of which hauing laded my barge, with many signes of great kindnes I returned: at my departure they requested me to hear our pieces, being in the midft of the riuer, which in regard of y^e eccho seemed a peale of ordnance, many birds and fowles they see vs dayly kil that much feared them,³ so desirous of trade wer they, y^t they would follow me with their canowes, & for any thing giue it me, rather then returne it back: so I vnladed again 7 or 8. hogfheads at our fort. Hauing thus by Gods assistance gotten

✓

¹ "Werawahon" and "Maman-hunt" are indicated on Smith's map.

² A comma.

³ A period.

good store of corne, notwithstanding some bad spirits not content with Gods providence, still grew mutinous, in so much, that our president hauing occasion to chide the smith for his misdeamenor, he not only gaue him bad language, but also offred to strike him with some of his tooles, for which rebellious act, the smith was by a Jury condemned to be hanged, but being vppon the ladder continuing verry obstinate, as hoping vpon a rescue: when he saw no other way but death with him, he became penitent, & declared a dangerous conspiracy, for which Captaine Kendall as principal, was by a Jury condēned & shot to death.¹ This conspiracy appeased, I set forward for the discouery of the Riuer of Checka Hamania: this third time I discovered y^e Townes of Matapamient, Morinogh, Ascacap, moyfenock Righkahauck, Nechanichock, Mattalūt, Attamuspincke,² & diuers others, their plenty of corne I found decreased, yet lading the barge, I returned to our fort: our store being now indifferently wel provided with corne, there was much adoe for to haue the pinace goe for England, against which Captain Martin & my selfe, standing chiefly against it, and in

¹ "The President did beat James Read, the Smyth. The Smythe stroake him againe. For this he was condemned to be hanged; but, before he was turned of the lather, he desired to speak with the President in private, to whome he accused Mr. Kendall of a mutiny, and

so escaped himself. . . . Mr. Kendall was executed, being shott to death for a mutiny." — *Wingfield's Discourse, in Archæol. Amer.*, vol. iv. pp. 90, 91.

² See Smith's map, where many of these places are laid down.

fine after many debatings, pro & contra, it was re-
 olued¹ to stay a further resolutiō: this matter also
 quieted, I set forward² to finish this discouery, which as
 yet I had neglected in regard of y^e necessitie we had
 to take in prouision while it was to be had: 40. miles
 I passed vp y^e riuer, which for the most part is a
 ✓ quarter of a mile broad, & 3. fatham & a half deep,
 exceeding ofey, many great low marshes, & many
 high lāds, especially about y^e midst at a place called
 Moyfonicke,³ a Peninsule of 4. miles cicuit, betwixt
 two riuers ioyned to the main, by a necke of 40. or 50.
 yards, and 40. or 50 yards from the high water marke:
 on both sides in the very neck of the maine, are high
 hills and dales, yet much inhabited, the Ile declining in
 a plaine fertile corne field, the lower end a low marsh,
 more plentie of swannes, cranes, geese, duckes, and
 mallards, & diuers sorts of fowles none would desire:
 more plaine fertile planted ground, in such great pro-
 portions as there I had not seene, of a light blacke
 sandy mould, the cliffes commonly red, white and yel-
 lowe colored sand, & vnder red & white clay, fish
 great plenty, & people abundance, the most of their
 ✓ inhabitants, in view of y^e neck of Land, where a bet-

¹ "Refolued."

² "The 10th of December." —
Wingfield, as above, p. 92.

³ "Moyfonec" is laid down, on
 Smith's map, on a peninsula, which
 would seem to correspond to that
 formed by the junction of "Diaf-

cund Creek," with the Chickaho-
 miny. It is some twelve or fifteen
 miles from the mouth of that river.
 I suppose Smith does not mean to
 say that this place is forty miles up
 the river, but "about ye midst," or
 half way that distance.

ter feat for a towne cannot be desired: at the end of forty miles this riuer inuironeth many low Ilands, at each high water drowned for a mile, where it vniteth it selfe, at a place called Apokant the highest Towne inhabited.¹ 10. miles higher I discovered with the barge. in the mid way, a great tree hindred my passage which I cut in two: heere the riuer became narrower, ✓
8. 9 or 10. foote at a high water, and 6. or 7. at a lowe: the streame exceeding swift, & the bottom hard channell, the ground most part a low plaine, sandy foyle, this occasioned me to suppose it might issue from some lake or some broad ford, for it could not be far to the head, but rather then I would endanger the barge, yet to haue beene able to resolute this doubt, & to discharge the imputation of malicious tungs, that halfe suspected I durst not for so long delaying, some of the company as desirous as my self, we resolved to hier a Canow, and returne with the barge to Apocant, there to leaue the barge secure, and put our selues vpon the aduenture: the country onely a vast and wilde wilderness, and but onely that Towne: within three or foure mile we hired a Canow, and 2. Indians to row vs y^e next day a fowling: hauing made such prouision for the barge as was needfull, I left her there to ride, with expresse charge not any to go ashore til my re-

¹ "Orapaks," one of the residences of the Emperor Powhatan, is indicated on our author's map as above the place there spelled "Ap-

pocant," on or near this river. The river is not delineated beyond; but Smith's discoveries, at this time, must have extended further.

turne.¹ Though some wise men may condemn this too
 ✓ bould attempt of too much indiscretion, yet if they
 well cōsider the friendship of the Indians, in conduct-
 ing me, the desolatenes of the country, the propabili-
 ✓ tie of some lacke, & the malicious iudges of my
 actions at home, as also to haue some matters of worth
 ✓ to encourage our aduenturers in england, might well
 haue caused any honest minde to haue done the like,
 as wel for his own discharge as for the publike good:
 hauing 2 Indians for my guide & 2 of our own com-
 pany, I set forward, leauing 7 in the barge: hauing
 discouered 20 miles further in this desart, the riuer stil
 kept his depth and bredth, but much more combred
 with trees: here we went ashore (being some 12 miles
 higher then y^e barge had bene)² to refresh our selues,
 during the boyling of our vituals: one of the Indians
 I tooke with me, to see the nature of the foile, & to
 crosse the boughts³ of the riuer, the other Indian I left
 with M. Robbinson and Thomas Emry, with their
 matches light⁴ and order to discharge a peece, for my
 retreat at the first sight of any Indian, but within a

¹ "But hee was not long absent, but his men went a shore, whose want of government gaue both occasion and opportunity to the Salvages to surprise one *George Cassen*, whom they slew, and much failed not to haue cut of the boat and all the rest."—*Generall Historie*, p. 46.

² It appears that the party at first went ten miles above "Apocant"

with the barge. They then returned to that place, where Smith left the barge, with seven men in it; and, hiring a canoe and two Indians, with two of his own company, went again up the river, "some twelve miles higher than the barge had been."

³ The "bendings" of the river.

⁴ These guns were matchlocks.

quarter of an houre I heard a loud cry, and a hollowing of Indians, but no warning peece, supposing them surprised, and that the Indians had betraid vs,¹ presently I seazed him² & bound his arme fast to my hand in a garter, with my pistoll ready bent to be reuenged on him: he aduised me to fly, and seemed ignorant of what was done, but as we went discourfing, I was struck with an arrow on the right thigh, but without harme: vpon this occasion I espied 2 Indians drawing their bowes, which I preuented in discharging a french pistoll: by that I had charged againe 3 or 4 more did the like, for the first fell downe and fled: at my discharge they did the like, my hinde I made my barricado who offered not to striue, 20. or 30. arrowes were shot at me but short, 3 or 4 times I had discharged my pistoll ere the king of Pamaūck called Opeckākenough³ with 200 men, inuironed me, each

¹ He refers to the two Indians who were then with them. The following passage from the "Generall Historie," page 46, does not appear in the narrative as originally printed in the "Map of Virginia"; viz., "The Salvages hauing drawne from George Cassen [who had been left below with others in the Barge] whether [whither?] Captaine Smith was gone, prosecuting that opportunity, they followed him with 300. bowmen," &c.

² The Indian he had with him.

³ This chief of the Pamaunkeys was the second brother of Powhatan.

On the death of the latter in 1618, at an advanced age, he was succeeded, according to the regular order of succession, by his brother, *Opitchapan*, next in age to himself, "who is sometimes called *Itopatin* and *Ocatan*;" and who, upon his accession, again changed his name to *Sasawpen*, "as *Opeckancanough*, upon the like occasion, changed his name to *Mangopesomen*. *Opitchapan*, being decrepid in body and inert in mind, was in a short time practically succeeded in the government by his younger, bolder, and more ambitious brother, the famous *Opeckancanough*."—

drawing their bowe, which done they laid them vpon the ground, yet without shot, my hinde treated betwixt them and me of conditions of peace, he discouered me to be the Captaine, my request was to retire to y^e boate, they demaunded my armes, the rest they saide were slaine, onely me they would reserue: the Indian importuned me not to shoot. In retiring being in the midst of a low quagmire, and minding them more then my steps, I slept fast into the quagmire, and also the Indian in drawing me forth: thus surprised, I resolu'd to trie their mercies, my armes I caste from me, till which none durst approach me: being ceazed on me, they drew me out and led me to the King, I presented him with a compasse diall, describing by my best meanes
 ✓ the vse therof, whereat he so amazedly admired, as he
 ✓ suffered me to proceed in a discourse of the roundnes
 ✓ of the earth, the course of the sunne, moone, starres
 ✓ and plannets, with kinde speeches and bread he requited me, conducting me where the Canow lay and
 ✓ John Robbinson slaine, with 20 or 30. arrowes in him. Emry I saw not, I perceiued by the abundance of fires all ouer the woods, at each place I expected when they would execute me, yet they vsed me with

Stith, p. 155; *Campbell*, p. 131. This chief acted an important part in the history of Virginia for twenty-five years, dying, in 1640, at nearly an hundred years of age. In 1616, he was chosen by the Chickahomines to be their king or "We-

rowance." This tribe, "a warlike and free people," had only a nominal dependence on Powhatan, and had been governed, not by a king, but by their priests and elders.—*Strachey*, pp. 61, 62; *Stith*, p. 141.

what kindnes they could: approaching their Towne,¹ which was within 6 miles where I was taken, onely made as arbors and couered with mats, which they remoue as occasion requires: all the women and children, being aduertised of this accident, came foorth to meet them, the King well guarded with 20 bowmen 5 flanck and rear, and each flanck before him a sword & a peece, and after him the like, then a bowman, then I on each hand a boweman, the rest in file in the reare, which reare led foorth amongst the trees in a bishion,² eache his bowe and a handfull of arrowes, a quiuer at his back grimly painted: on eache flanck a sargeant, the one running alwaiss towards the front the other towards the reare, each a true pace and in exceeding good order, this being a good time continued, they caste themselues in a ring with a daunce, and so eache man departed to his lodging, the Captain conducting me to his lodging, a quarter of Venison ✓ and some ten pound of bread I had for supper, what

¹ This was at "Orapaks" ("Generall Historie," p. 47), one of the residences of the Emperor Powhatan, who, at this time, was living at "Werowocomoco." "Orapaks" was some distance from "Appocant," up the river, and about twelve miles east or north-east from the Falls near Richmond. — See Campbell's *History of Virginia*, Philadelphia, 1860, p. 130; and also consult Smith's map. Smith must have been somewhere in the neighborhood

of General Sumner's bridges (perhaps further up), on the Chickahominy, when he was taken prisoner. — See *Proceedings Amer. Antiq. Soc. for October*, 1864, p. 58.

² "The soldiers, all in fyle, performed the forme of a *Biffom* so well as could be." — *Generall Historie*, p. 47. "Bishion" or "bissom" was probably a military term, the meaning of which I am not able satisfactorily to explain.

I left was referued for me, and sent with me to my lodging: each morning 3. women presented me three great platters of fine bread, more venison then ten men could deuour I had, my gowne, points and garters, my compas and a tablet they gaue me again, though 8 ordinarily guarded me, I wanted not what they could deuise to content me: and still our longer acquaintance increafed our better affection: much they threatened to affault our forte, as they were solicited by the King of Paspahegh, who shewed at our fort great signes of sorrow for this mischance: the King tooke great delight in vnderstanding the manner of our ships, and sayling the seas, the earth & skies and of our God: what he knew of the dominions he spared not to acquaint me with, as of certaine men cloathed at a place called Ocanahonan,¹ cloathed like me,² the course of our riuer, and that within 4 or 5 daies iourney of the falles, was a great turning of salt water: I desired he would send a messenger to Paspahegh,³ with

¹ See Strachey, p. 26, cited below.

² The colonists at Jamestown were eager to get any information concerning Raleigh's lost colony at Roanoke, hoping that there might yet be some survivors; and, subsequently, search was made for them. From Strachey's "History of Trauaile," &c., page 26, published by the Hakluyt Society in 1849, there is some reason to believe that seven of these colonists were living at this time. — See Mr. Hale's *Introduction to "Newport's Discoveries in Vir-*

ginia," in Archaeol. Amer. vol. iv. pp. 34-37; also Smith, in *Generall Historie*, p. 25; and *Map of Virginia*, p. 9. Purchas has this passage on the margin of page 1728, of vol. iv. of his "Pilgrimes":—"Powhatan confessed that hee had bin at the murder of that [Raleigh's] Colonie, and shewed a Musket barrell and a brasie Morter, and certaine peeces of Iron which had bin theirs."

³ That is, to Jamestown. — See page 9, note 2.

a letter I would write, by which they shold vnderstand, how kindly they vsed me, and that I was well, leaft they should reuenge my death: this he granted and sent three men, in such weather, as in reason were vnpossible, by any naked to be indured: their cruell mindes towards the fort I had deuerted, in describing the ordinance & the mines in the fields, as also the reuenge Captain Newport would take of them at his returne, their intent, I incerted¹ the fort, the people of Ocanahonum and the back sea, this report they after found diuers Indians that confirmed: the next day after my letter, came a saluage to my lodging, with his sword to haue slaine me, but being by my guard intercepted, with a bowe and arrow he offred to haue effected his purpose: the cause I knew not, till the King vnderstanding thereof came and told me of a man a dying, wounded with my pistoll: he tould me also of another I had slayne, yet the most concealed they had any hurte: this was the father of him I had slayne, whose fury to preuent, the King presently conducted me to another Kingdome, vpon the top of the next northerly riuer, called Youghtanan,² hauing feasted

¹ The author probably means, in this badly written and badly punctuated passage, that he *certified* or informed those at the fort of the "intent" of the Indians respecting them: he also communicated to them what he had heard concerning "the people of Ocanahonum, and

the back sea," &c. "In part of a Table booke, he writ his minde to them at the Fort, what was intended," &c. — *Generall Historie*, p. 47.

² "Youghtanund" River is the same now called "Pamunkey River," which unites with the "Mattapony" (called by Smith "Mattapa-

me, he further led me to another branch of the riuer, called Mattapament,¹ to two other hunting townes they led me, and to each of these Countries, a house of the great Emperour of Pewhakan,² whom as yet I supposed to bee at the Fals,³ to him I tolde him I must goe, and so returne to Paspahegh, after this foure or fve dayes march, we returned to Rafawrack,⁴ the first towne they brought me too, where binding the Mats in bundles, they marched two dayes iourney, and crossed the Riuer of Youghtanan, where it was as broad as Thames: so conducting me too a place called Menapacute⁵ in Pamaunke, where y^e King inhabited: the next day another King of that nation called Kekataugh,⁶ hauing receiued some kindnes of me at the Fort, kindly inuited me to feast at his house, the people from all places flocked to see me, each shewing to content me. By this the great King⁷ hath foure or fve houses, each

nient") at West Point, the two there forming the "York River," or the "Pamaunk" of Smith's map.

¹ Or "Mattapanient." See note next preceding.

² Probably a misprint for "Powhatan."

³ See ante, page 6, note 2.

⁴ The first town Smith was brought to after he was taken prisoner was "Orapaks."—See ante, page 27. If "Rafawrack" is the same as "Rasfwek" on his map, or "Rafauweak," as he elsewhere calls it, it is situated on the Powhatan River, above the falls, among the

"Monacans," a nation hostile to Powhatan, and where Opechanough certainly would not have taken Smith. Some other place must have been intended.

⁵ "Menapucunt," between the "Youghtanand" and "Mattapanient" rivers, not far from their junction.

⁶ Spelled "Katatough" on p. 53; the youngest brother of Powhatan, and one of the kings of Pamaunke.

⁷ By "the great King," Smith probably means the Emperor Powhatan, who had many residences in his dominions, and removed to them

containing fourscore or an hundred foote in length, pleasantly seated vpon an high sandy hill, from whence you may see westerly a goodly low Country, the riuer before the which his crooked course causeth many great Marshes of exceeding good ground. An hundred houses, and many large plaines are here together inhabited, more abundance of fish & fowle, and a pleasanter seat cannot be imagined: the King with fortie Bowmen to guard me, intreated me to discharge my Pistoll, which they there presented me with a mark at six score to strike therewith but to spoil the practice I broke the cocke, whereat they were much discontented though a chaunce supposed.

From hence this kind King conducted mee to a place called Topahanocke,¹ a kingdome vpon another Riuer northward: the cause of this was, that the yeare before, a shippe had beene in the Riuer of Pamaunke, who hauing been kindly entertained by Powhatan their Emperour, they returned thence, and discouered the Riuer of Topahanocke, where being receiued with like kindnesse, yet he slue the King, and tooke of his people, and they supposed I were hee, but the people reported him a great man that was Captaine, and vsing mee kindly, the next day we departed.

whenever it suited his convenience or pleasure.

¹ Situated, on Smith's map, on the north side of the "Tappahanock," now "Rappahannock River."

The present town of "Tappahanock" lies on the south side the river, fifty miles from its mouth in Chesapeake Bay.

This River of Topahanock, seemeth in breadth not much lesse then that we dwell vpon. . At the mouth of the Riuer is a Countrey called Cuttata women upwards is Marraughtacum Tapohanock, Appamatuck, and Nantaugstacum,¹ at Topmanahocks, the head issuing from many Mountains, the next night I lodged at a hunting town of Powhatams,² and the next day arriued at Waranacomoco³ vpon the riuer of Pamauncke,

¹ There should be a femicolon here; and the reader need not be told that there should be a point after "Marraughtacum" and after "Cuttata women." All these places (except "Appamatuck," the name of a well-known tribe on the south of the Powhatan River), with a slight variation in the orthography, may be seen on Smith's map, lying on the river "Topahanock." The printer of the black letter has made sad work of Smith's manuscript in the following sentence. It should read, "at top, Manahocks, the head issuing from many Mountains." The "Man-nahoacks" were a well-known tribe, independent of Powhatan.

² In the subsequently written account in the "Generall Historie," page 48, Smith is said to have been brought to the "King's habitation at Pamavnee" (that is, to the residence of "Opechancanough"), after his journey to the various places above described. He was here a guest also of "Opitchapan," the brother and successor of Powhatan, who lived near. Before taken to "Werowocomoco," the next move,

Smith was entertained with those "strange and fearfull coniurations," described on pp. 41, 42, as having taken place at the town to which he was first brought (Orapaks) when taken prisoner.

³ This, the principal and favorite residence of Powhatan at this period, was situated on the north side of "Pamaunke," now York River, in Gloucester County, only a few miles distant from the historic field of Yorktown, on the other side the river. Mr. Campbell, in his recent history of Virginia, locates the place at "Powhatan's Chimney," on the east side of "Timber-neck Bay," where stands the old stone chimney, which Bishop Meade, who made a pilgrimage to see it, thinks is the veritable one built for the old chief by the colonists. Powhatan subsequently removed to "Orapaks," a retired place "in the desert," at the top of the river Chickahominy. — *Generall Historie*, p. 37; *Campbell*, pp. 18, 49, 62, 63, 67, 159, 130; *Compass Bishop Meade's Old Churches, &c., of Virginia*, vol. i. pp. 336, 350.

where the great king is resident: by the way we passed by the top of another little riuer, which is betwixt the two called Payankatank. [The most of this Countrey though Desert, yet exceeding fertil, good timber, most hils and in dales, in each valley a cristall spring.]

Arriuing at Weramocomoco their Emperour,¹ proudly lying vpon a Bedstead a foote high vpon tenne or twelue Mattes, richly hung with manie Chaynes of great Pearles about his necke,² and couered with a

¹ This was the first time Smith had met with the Emperor Powhatan. It would seem that both Smith and Captain Newport, on their first voyage up the James River, supposed that the chief whose residence was at "Powhatan," near the falls, and who there entertained them, was the Emperor himself. The mistake arose from the name of the place corresponding to the name which the Emperor then bore. He took his name from this seat, which was one of his inheritances. Smith says, "His proper name is *Wakunsomacock*. Some Countries he hath which haue beene his ancestors, and came vnto him by inheritance, as the Country called *Powhatan*, *Arrohateck*, *Appamatuck*, *Pamavnee*, *Youghtanund*, and *Mattanient*. All the rest of his Territories expressed in the Mappe, they report haue beene his severall Conquests." — "And they were bounded," says Stith (page 54), "on the *South* by *James River*, with all its Branches, from the Mouth to the Falls, and so

acrofs the Country, nearly as high as the Falls of all the Rivers, over *Patowmack* even to *Patuxen* in *Maryland*." — "In all his ancient inheritances," says Smith, "he hath houses built after their manner like harbours, some 30, some 40. yards long, and at every house provision for his entertainment according to the time." — *Generall Historie*, p. 37. The chief seen by Newport and Smith, at "Powhatan," may have been the one described by Strachey (page 56) as one of the sons of the emperor, and named after him "Tanx Powhatan;" meaning Little Powhatan.

² This passage is awkwardly expressed. The writer means to say that the Emperor was lying on a bedstead, on which were ten or twelve mats; that many chains of great pearls hung about his neck; and that he was covered with a great garment of raccoon skins. In the narrative in the "*Generall Historie*," pages 48, 49, it is stated thus: "Before a fire vpon a seat like a

great Couering of Rahaughcums:¹ At heade fat a woman, at his feete another, on each side sitting vppon a Matte vppon the ground were raunged his chiefe men on each side the fire, tenne in a ranke, and behinde them as many yong women, each a great Chaîne of white Beades ouer their shoulders: their heades painted in redde and with such a graue and Majesticall countenance, as draue me into admiration to see such state in a naked Saluage, hee kindly welcomed me with good wordes, and great Platters of fundrie Victuals, assuring mee his friendship, and my libertie within foure dayes, hee much delighted in Opechan Conoughs relation of what I had described to him, and oft examined me vpon the same.² Hee asked mee

bedstead, he sat covered with a great robe, made of Rarowcun skinner, and all the tayles hanging by. On either hand did sit a young wench 16 or 18 yeares, and along on each side the house, two rowes of men, and behind them as many women, with all their heads and shoulders painted red; many of their heads bedecked with the white downe of Birds; but every one with something; and a great chayne of white beads about their necks."

¹ Our author's ingenuity must have been severely taxed in attempting to spell this word. I suppose he aims to give the manner of its pronunciation by the natives of Virginia. He elsewhere spells it "Aroughcun." In a "Trve Decla-

ration" &c., of Virginia, London, 1610, p. 29, the word is spelled "Arocoun." Wood, in his "New England's Prospekt," spells the word "Rackoon;" and Joffelyn gives it according to our present orthography. It will be seen on page 46 that another mode of spelling is attempted. Some authorities derive the word from the French *Raton*.

² The account in the "Generall Historie," (p. 49) following the passage quoted in note 2, of the page immediately preceding, continues thus: "At his entrance before the King, all the people gaue a great shout. The Queene of *Appamatuck* was appointed to bring him water to wash his hands, and another brought him a bunch of feathers, instead of a

the caufe of our comming, I tolde him being in fight with the Spaniards our enemie, beeing ouer powred, neare put to retreat,¹ and by extreme weather put to this fhore, where landing at Chespiack, the people shot vs; but at Kequoughtan they kindly vsed us,² we by signes demaunded fresh water, they described vs vp the Riuer was all fresh water, at Paspahegh, also they kindly vsed vs, our Pinnffe being leake wee were inforced to stay to mend her, till Captain Newport my father came to conduct vs away. He demaunded why we went further with our Boate, I tolde him, in that I would haue occaſion to talke of the backe Sea, that on the other ſide the maine, where was ſalt water, my father had a childe ſlaine, which wee ſuppoſed Monocan³ his enemie,⁴ whoſe death we intended to reuenge.

Towell to dry them: having feaſted him after their beſt barbarous manner they could, a long conſultation was held, but the concluſion was, two great ſtones were brought before *Powhatan*: then as many as could layd hands on him, dragged him to them, and thereon laid his head, and being ready with their clubs to beate out his braines, *Pocahontas*, the Kings deareſt daughter, when no intreaty could preuaile, got his head in her armes, and laid her owne vpon his, to ſaue him from death: whereat the Emperour was contented he ſhould liue to make him hatchets, and her bells, beads, and copper; for they thought

him aſwell of all occupations as themſelues." See page 38, note 3.

¹ The ſtory about "being in fight with the Spaniards," was, of courſe, a fabrication; and it will be ſeen, throughout this interview, that Smith avoided telling Powhatan that the Engliſh had come to ſettle in the country.

² See pages 3 and 5, notes. There ſhould be a period here, and after "fresh water," below.

³ The "Monacans," repreſented on Smith's map as living at the head of the Powhatan River; ſuppoſed by ſome writers to be the anceſtors of the "Tuscaroras."

⁴ [Had occaſioned?]

After good deliberation, hee began to describe mee the Countreys beyond the Falles, with many of the rest, confirming what not only Opechancanoyes, and an Indian which had been prisoner to Pewhatan had before tolde mee, but some called it fīue dayes, some fixe, some eight, where the sayde water dashed amongest many stōnes and rocks, each storme¹ which caused oft tymes the heade of the Riuer to bee brackish: Anchachuck² he described to bee the people that had slaine my brother, whose death hee would reuenge. Hee described also vpon the same Sea, a mighty Nation called Pocoughtronack,³ a fierce Nation that did eate men, and warred with the people of Moyaoncer, and Pataromerke,⁴ Nations vpon the toppe of the heade of the Bay, vnder his territories, where the yeare before they had slaine an hundred, he signified their crownes were shauen, long haire in the necke, tied on a knot, Swords like Pollaxes.

Beyond them he described people with short Coates, and Sleeues to the Elbowes, that passed that way in Shippes like ours. Many Kingdomes hee described mee to the heade of the Bay, which seemed to bee a mightie Riuer, issuing from mightie Mountaines

¹ The comma after "rocks" should be here.

² Probably the same as "Atquanchucke," a tribe whose seat is indicated by Smith on the north-east corner of his map.

³ "Bocootawwanauks," in Strachey, p. 27.

⁴ "Moyaons" may be seen on Smith's map, on the left bank of the "Potawomeck" River, nearly north of "Potapaco," now called "Port Tobacco."

betwixt the two Seas, the people clothed at Ocamahowan. He alsoe confirmed,¹ and the Southerly Countries also, as the rest, that reported vs to be within a day & a halfe of Mangoge, two dayes of Chawwonock,² 6. frō Roonock,³ to the South part of the backe sea: he described a countrie called Anone,⁴ where they haue abundance of Brasse, and houses walled as ours. I requited his discourse, seeing what pride hee had in his great and spacious Dominions, seeing that all hee knewe were vnder his Territories.⁵

In describing to him the territories of Europe, which was subject to our great King whose subject I was, the innumerable multitude of his ships, I gaue him to vnderstand the noyse of Trumpets, and terrible manner of fighting were vnder captain Newport my father, whom I intituled the Meworames⁶ which they call King of all the waters, at his greatnesse hee

¹ This clause probably belongs to the previous sentence. He means that the account before received, concerning the people clothed at "Ocamahowan," was also confirmed by Powhatan.

² The seats of the "Mangoags" and the "Chawons" are placed on the south part of Smith's map. "Chawonok" river, now "Chowan River," empties into Albemarle Sound. — See Smith's map of "Ould Virginia;" also De Bry's map, on which these places are laid down.

³ The seat of Raleigh's lost colony.

⁴ "To the southwest Anoeg, . . . whose houses are built as ours, ten daies distant from us." — *Strachey's Historic of Travaile*, p. 48.

⁵ There should be a comma here, and the passage is connected with what follows.

⁶ A typographical error for "Werowance." The passage should read thus: "I gave him to understand the . . . terrible manner of fighting . . . under Captain Newport, my father, whom I intituled Werowance (which they call King) of all the waters."

✓ admired, and not a little feared: hee desired mee to
 forsake Paspaliegh,¹ and to liue with him vpon his
 Riuer, a Countrie called Capa Howasicke:² hee prom-
 ✓ ified to giue me Corne, Venison, or what I wanted to
 feede vs, Hatchets and Copper wee should make him,
 ✓ and none should disturbe vs. This request I promised
 to performe: and thus hauing with all the kindnes hee
 could deuise, fought to content me: hee sent me home
 ✓ with 4. men, one that vsually carried my Gowne and
 Knapfacke after me, two other loded with bread, and
 one to accompanie me.³ ✓

¹ A typographical error for "Paspahagh." — See page 9, note 2.

² "Capahowofick" is on Smith's map, a short distance below "Werowocomoco," on the same side the river.

³ The most indifferent reader cannot fail to notice the marked discrepancy between Smith's original account, in the text, of the manner in which he was received by Powhatan, when first brought to him a prisoner, and the account on pp. 34-5, from the "Generall Historie." In the former account, his reception by the Emperor, and the treatment he received from him during his stay at Werowocomoco, are marked by kindness and courtesy; and no mention whatever is made of the young child Pocahontas, whose name is introduced for the first time at a subsequent period in this narrative. In the latter account, he is no sooner brought before

Powhatan than preparations are made "to beate out his braines" with clubs, and his life is finally saved only by the intervention of Pocahontas. I have ventured in another place (in a note on Wingfield's "Discourse of Virginia," in *Archæol. Amer.* vol. iv. pp. 92-95) to suggest that this story is one of the embellishments with which Smith's later works were sometimes adorned. The reader should bear in mind that the account in the text was written by Smith himself on the spot. He, alone, of the colonists could tell the story of his capture and imprisonment, and this is his report. That no story inconsistent with this was told by him on his return to Jamestown may be inferred from Wingfield, who was there, and who gives briefly the principal facts attending Smith's imprisonment; namely, that his life was imperilled only at the time of

This Riuer of Pamaunke is not past twelue mile from that we dwell on, his course northwest, and wef-

his falling into the hands of "Pamaonke's men;" and that, by means of his guide, his life was saved. Nothing is said of Pocahontas; and Powhatan's name is mentioned only in connection with the fact, that, when Smith was brought before him a prisoner, he sent him home to Jamestown. The only other contemporary account of Smith's capture is the one originally written by the companions of Smith, and printed as an appendix to his book, entitled "Map of Virginia," &c., published at Oxford in 1612. The first part of this book is a "Description of Virginia," or a geography of the country, originally written by Smith while in the colony, and sent home, with the draught of his map, by Newport, before the close of the year 1608.—(See Letter to the "Treasurer and Councill" in "Generall Historie," pp. 70-72.) The appendix,—the historical portion of this book,—so far as it embraces the time of Smith's residence in the colony, is a continued eulogy of Smith; around whom the principal events narrated are grouped. It contains a brief account of his imprisonment, as told, of course, by himself to his companions, at Jamestown; but the reader will not find the least intimation of any thing on which to found this romantic story. The "Generall Historie," from which the extract above is taken, was first printed, as I have

before stated, in 1624. This work is chiefly a compilation, including extracts from Hakluyt, Brereton, Rosier, Hamor, "Mourt's Relation," Winflow's "Good News," Whitbourne, and others, besides the whole of Smith's previous publications, except this present work—"The True Relation," of 1608. For the period covering Smith's residence in Virginia, the narrative in the appendix to the "Map of Virginia," &c., written, as I have said, by Smith's companions, is introduced into the "Generall Historie;" but many changes are made in the text as originally written, and new passages are inserted, some of which are of an extravagant character, and give to the narrative an air of romance. The passage relating to the Pocahontas story, above cited, is one of these. I suppose Smith must be held responsible for all this: for, although he had probably fallen into the hands of Michael Sparks, the publisher, still the work is issued in his own name; and at the conclusion of chapter ii., which covers the period of his imprisonment, his initials ("I. S.") appear, indicating him as one of the writers.

Although the account of Smith's rescue by Pocahontas is for the first time circumstantially told in the "Generall Historie," it would appear that he claimed, in 1616 or 1617, when Pocahontas, now the Lady Rebecca, was in England,

terly, as the other. Weraocomoco, is vpon salt water, in bredth two myles, and so keepeth his course without any tarrying some twenty miles,¹ where at the parting of the fresh water and the salt, it diuideth it selfe into two partes, the one part to Goughland,² as broad as

and in great favor at court as the daughter of an Emperor, to have had this service rendered to him by her. If his own story is true, he at that time addressed a letter, or "a little booke," to Queen Anne (who died in 1619), of which he gives "an abstract" in the "Generall Historie," pp. 121-123. In this, he speaks of having been taken prisoner by Powhatan when in Virginia, and of the "exceeding great courtesie" he received from him, from his son Nantaquaus, and from Pocahontas, then "a childe of twelue or thirteene yeeres of age [he says in the text, under a little later date, that she was "a child of tenne years old."—*See page 72*], whose compassionate pitifull heart, of my desperate estate, gaue me much cause to respect her. . . . After some six weeks [he was absent but *four* weeks] fatting amongst those Saluage Courtiers, at the minute of my execution, she hazarded the beating out of her owne braines to saue mine," &c. A brief reference is made in his "New Englands Triale," of 1622, to his having been "delivered" by Pocahontas; after he had been taken prisoner "by the folly of them that fled"—a new version of the capture. It is safer, I think, to follow the sim-

ple, original narrative, written on the spot, with none of those motives to embellish it which were subsequently furnished. Smith was a true knight errant, and was always ready to go down on his knees to the fair sex, and to confess the obligations he owed to many famous ladies. In his dedication of the "Generall Historie" to the Duchesse of Richmond, he says, "The beautilous Lady *Tragabigzanda*, when I was a slaue to the *Turkes*, did all she could to secure me. When I overcame the *Bashaw* of *Nalbrits* in *Tartaria*, the charitable Lady *Callamata* supplied my neecessities. In the vtmost of many extremities, that blessed *Pokahontas*, the great Kings daughter of *Virginia*, oft saved my life. When I escaped the crueltie of Pirats and most furious stormes, a long time alone in a small Boat at Sea, and driven ashore in *France*, the good Lady, *Madam Chanoyes*, bountifully assisted me."

¹ Smith probably means that the river keeps its course without any obstruction for twenty miles; that is, tracing it upward from Powhatan's residence to the point where the two streams which run into the main river meet.—*See page 29, note 2.*

² I find no such name on Smith's map, or elsewhere.

Thames, and nauigable, with a Boate threescore or fourescore miles, and with a Shippe fiftie, exceeding crooked, and manie low grounds and marishes, but inhabited with abundance of warlike and tall people. The Countrey of Youghtomam,¹ of no lesse worth, onely it is lower, but all the soyle, a fatte, fertill, sandie ground. Aboue Manapacumter,² many high sandie Mountaines. By the Riuer is many Rockes, seeming if not of feuerall Mines: The other branch³ a little lesse in breadth, yet extendeth not neare so farre, nor so well inhabited, somewhat lower, and a white sandie, and a white clay soyle: here is their best Terra Sigillata: The mouth of the Riuer, as I see in the discouerie therof with captain Newport,⁴ is halfe a mile broad, & within foure miles not aboue a Musket Shot: the channell exceeding good and deepe, the Riuer straight to the deuifions. Kiskirk⁵ the nearest Nation to the entrances.

Their religion and Ceremonie I obserued was thus: three or foure dayes after my taking feuen of them in the house where I lay, each with a rattle began at ten

¹ "Youghtanund." See page 29.

² Probably "Menapucunt." — See page 30, note 5.

³ The "Mattapanient." — See page 30, note 1.

⁴ Smith here refers to the "discouerie" of the "Pamaunke" River by himself and Newport, of which an account will be given farther on. He errs in estimating the width of

this river. The gazetteers say it is from two to two and a half miles wide from its mouth to the confluence of the two main streams, a distance of forty miles.

⁵ Now "Chesecake," pronounced "Cheefecake," between Williamsburg and York." — *Stith*, p. 54; *Campbell*, p. 66.

✓ a clocke in the morning to sing about the fire, which they inuironed with a Circle of meale, and after a foote or two from that, at the end of each song, layde downe two or three graines of wheat, continuing this order till they haue included fixe or feuen hundred in a halfe Circle, and after that two or three more Circles in like maner, a hand bredth from other: that done, at each song, they put betwixt euerie three, two or fīue graines, a little sticke, so counting as an old woman her Pater noster.

One disguised with a great Skinne, his head hung round with little Skinnes of Weasels, and other vermine, with a Crownet of feathers on his head, painted as vgly as the diuell, at the end of each song will make many signes and demonstrations, with strange and vehement actions, great cakes of Deere suet, Deare, and Tobacco he casteth in the fire, till fixe a clocke in the Evening, their howling would continue ere they would depart. Each morning in the coldest frost, the principall to the number of twentie or thirtie, assembled themselues in a round circle, a good distance from the towne, where they told me they there consulted where to hunt the next day: so fat they fed mee, that I much doubted they intended to haue sacrificed mee to the Quiyoughquosicke, which is a superiour power they worship, a more vglīer thing cannot be described: one they haue for chief sacrifices, which also they call ✓ Quiyoughquosick: to cure the sick, a man with a

Rattle, and extreame howling, shewing, finging, and such violent gestures, and Anticke actions ouer the patient will sucke out blood and flegme from the patient out of their vnable stomacke, or any diseased place, as no labour will more trie them,¹ Tobacco they offer the water in passing in fowle weather.² The death of any they lament with great sorrow and weeping: their Kings they burie betwixt two mattes within their houses, with all his beads, iewels, hatchets, and copper: the other in graues like ours. They acknowledge no resurrection. Powhatan hath three brethren, and two sisters, each of his bretheren succeeded other.³

For the Crowne, their heyres inherite not, but the first heyres of the Sisters, and so succeffiually the weomens heires: For the Kings haue as many weomen as they will, his Subjects two, and most but one.

From Weramocomoco is but 12. miles, yet the Indians trifled away that day, and would not goe to our Forte by any perswasions: but in certaine olde hunting houses of Paspahegh we lodged all night. The next morning ere Sunne rise, we set forward for our Fort,

¹ These "conjurations," described in the "Generall Historie" (page 48) in somewhat different language, are there said to have taken place at "Pamavneke," just before Smith was led to "Werowocomoco." I do not hesitate to express my preference for the order of the narrative in the text, which states that it was "three

or foure dayes after my taking." — See page 32, note 2.

² Our author means, that, in passing over the water in foul weather, they offer tobacco to their god, to conciliate his favor. See also the "Generall Historie," p. 36.

³ See p. 25, note 3, and p. 30, note 6.

where we arriued within an houre,¹ where each man with trueft signes of ioy they could expresse welcommed mee, except M. Archer, and some 2. or 3. of his, who was then in my absence, sworne Counsellour, though not with the consent of Captaine Martin:² great blame and imputation was laide vpon mee by them, for the losse of our two men which the Indians flew: infomuch that they purposed to depose me,³ but in the

¹ Wingfield says that Powhatan sent Smith "home to our towne the viiith of January," 1607-8. We have seen by the same authority, cited on page 22, that he started, on this expedition, the 10th of December; so that he was absent just four weeks. The account in the appendix to the "Map of Virginia," page 14, says, "A month those Barbarians kept him prisoner." In the enlarged and exaggerated account in the "Generall Historie" (page 46), it is said, "Sixe or seuen weekes" they kept him prisoner.

² "During M Smythe's absence, the President did swear Mr Archer one of the Councell, contrary to his oath taken in the artycles agreed vpon betweene themselues . . . and contrary to the King's instruccions, and without Mr Martyn's consent; whereas there weare no more but the President and Mr Martyn then of the Councell." — *Wingfield, in Archæol. Amer.* vol. iv. p. 93. The charter of Virginia provided for a colonial council of thirteen; and His Majesty's instructions and orders

authorized the major part of said Council, upon any just cause, to remove the President or any other of the Council. — *Stith*, p. 37; and *Appendix*, p. 3. There appears to have been a departure from this rule from the first, not only in the appointment of but *seven* councillors, but in the mode in which they administered the government.

³ Smith was one of the council. "Mr Archer being settled in his authority, sought how to call Mr Smythe's lief in question, and had indited him vpon a chapter in Leuiticus for the death of his twoe men. He had had his tryal the same daie of his retorne, and, I believe, his hanging the same or the next daie, so speedie is our lawe there. But it pleased God to send Captn. Newport vnto vs the same evening, to o' vn-speakable comfort; whose arrivall saued Mr Smyth's lief and mine, because hee took me out the pynasse, and gaue me leave to lye in the towne." — *Wingfield, in Archæol. Amer.* vol. iv. pp. 94, 95. In the "Generall Historie," p. 49, it is said,

midst of my miseries, it pleased God to send Captaine Nuport, who arriuing there the same night, so tripled our ioy, as for a while these plots against me were deferred, though with much malice against me, which captain Newport in short time did plainly see. Now was maister Scriuener, captaine Martin, and my selfe, called Counsellors.¹

Within five or six dayes after the arriuall of the Ship, by a mischaunce our Fort was burned,² and the

"Some no better than they should be, had plotted with the President, the next day to haue put him [Smith] to death by the Leviticall law, for the liues of *Robinson* and *Emry*, pretending the fault was his that had led them to their ends: but he quickly tooke such order with such Lawyers, that he layd them by the heeles till he sent some of them prisoners for *England*." This passage is not in the Oxford tract.

Of the original councillors, Wingfield had been deposed, not only from the presidency, but as councillor; Gosnold had died; Kendall had been executed; and, setting aside Captain Newport, concerning whom it is doubtful how far he may be considered as having retained his office, there now remained of the council, at the time of Smith's return, but Captain John Ratcliffe, who succeeded Wingfield as president; Captain John Martin; Captain Smith, whom they threatened to depose; and Captain Gabriell Archer, elected during Smith's ab-

sence. Captain Newport appears to have exercised considerable influence and authority over the colonists, either by virtue of office or position, or by the force of his character.

¹ Matthew Scrivener had just arrived with Newport; Martin had been one of the council from the beginning; Smith now took his place in that body; Archer was now, or soon after, deposed; Ratcliffe was still their president.

² Wingfield says this fire took place the 7th of January. Both he and our author agree that Newport arrived the evening of the day of the latter's return from his captivity, which Wingfield says was on the 8th of January. If this date is right, and the fire took place "five or six dayes after the arriuall of the Ship," it must have been on the 13th or 14th of January, 1607-8. In the account in the "Generall Historie," this fire is said to have broken out on the return of the party from the visit to Powhatan, now about to be related, which, according to Wing-

14th of Jan. 1608

most of our apparell, lodging and priuate prouision, many of our old men diseased, and of our new for want of lodging perished. The Empeureur Powhatan each weeke once or twice sent me many presents of Deare, bread Raugroughcuns,¹ halfe alwayes for my father,² whom he much desired to see, and halfe for me: and so continually importuned by messengers and presents, that I would come to fetch the corne, and take the Countrie their King had giuen me, as at last Captaine Newport resolved to go see him. Such acquaintance I had amongst the Indians, and such confidence they had in me, as neare the Fort they would not come till I came to them, euery of them calling me by my name, would not sell any thing till I had first receiued their presents, and what they had that I liked, they deferred to my discretion: but after acquaintance, they vsually came into the Fort at their pleasure: The President, and the rest of the Councell, they knewe not, but Captaine Newports greatnesse I had so described, as they conceyued him the chiefe, the rest his children, Officers, and seruants. We had agreed with y^e king of Paspahegh to conduct two of our men to

field, was not until the 9th of March. But the account also states that it "happned in the winter, in that extreme frost, 1607" (that is, 1607-8). "The fire was so fierce as it burnt their Pallisado's (though eight or ten yards distant) with their Armes, bedding, apparell, and much priuate

prouision. Good Master *Hunt*, our Preacher, lost all his Library and all he had but the cloathes on his backe: yet none neuer heard him repine at his losse."—*Generall Historie*, p. 52.

¹ See page 34, note 1.

² Captain Newport.—See page 35.

a place called Panawicke¹ beyond Roonok, where he reported many men to be apparelled.² Wee landed him at Warraskoyack,³ where playing the villaine, and deluding vs for rewards, returned within three or foure dayes after without going further. / Captaine Newport, maister Scriuener, and my selfe,⁴ found the mouth of Pamauncks riuer,⁵ some 25. or 30. miles northward from Cape Henricke, the chanell good as before expressed.

Arriuing at Weramocomoca, being iealous of the intent of this politick saluage, to discouer his intent the better, I with 20. shot armed in Jacks⁶ went a shore, the Bay where he dwelleth hath in it 3. cricks, and a mile and a halfe from the chanel all oft,⁷ being conducted to the towne, I found my selfe mistaken in the creeke,⁸ for they al there were within leffe then a mile, the Emperors sonne called Naukaquawis,⁹ the captaine that tooke me,¹⁰ and diuerse others of his chiefe men conducted me to their kings habitation, but in the mid way I was inter-

¹ Perhaps "Pananaioc." See Smith's map of "Ould Virginia."

² See page 28, note 2.

³ See page 17, note 1.

⁴ "With thirtie or fortie chosen men for their guard."—*Generall Historie*, p. 51.

⁵ Now "York River," about fifteen miles north from "Point Comfort."

⁶ "A coat of mail; a defensive upper garment quilted with stout leather. The term was more latterly

applied to a kind of buff jerkin worn by soldiers."—*Halliwell*.

⁷ Ose?—*See page 55*.

⁸ "For it appears that he had mistaken the right landing-place, having probably passed up a little beyond the mouth of Timberneck Bay."—*Campbell*, p. 50.

⁹ Spelled in the "Generall Historie," "Nantaquoud" and "Nantaquaus."

¹⁰ Opechancanough.

cepted by a great creek ouer which they had made a bridge of grained stakes & railes, the king of Kiskieck, and Namontack, who all the iourney the king had sent to guide vs, had conducted vs this passage, which caused me to suspect some mischiefe: the barge I had sent to meet me at the right landing, when I found my selfe first deceyued, and knowing by experience the most of their courages to proceede from others feare, though fewe lyked the passage, I intermingled the Kings sonne, our conductors, and his chiefe men amongst ours, and led forward, leauing halfe at the one ende to make a guard for the passage of the Front.¹ The Indians seeing the weakenesse of the Bridge, came with a Canow, and tooke me in of the middest with foure or fise more, being landed wee made a guard for the rest till all were passed, two in a ranke we marched to the Emperors house. Before his house stood fortie or fiftie great Platters of fine bread, being entred the house, with leude tunes they all made signes

¹ The account of this expedition, briefly told, is given in the "General Historie." After naming eleven of the "twentie men well appointed" for a guard, the account proceeds (page 51): "These, with nine others (whose names I haue forgotten) coming a-shore, landed amongst a many of creekes, over which they were to passe such poore bridges, onely made of a few cratches, thrust in the ose, and three or foure poles laid on them, and at the end of

them the like, tyed together onely with barks of trees, that it made them much suspect those bridges were but traps. Which caused *Smith* to make diuerse Salvages goe over first, keeping some of the chiefe as hostage till halfe his men were passed, to make a guard for himselfe and the rest. But finding all things well, by two or three hundred Salvages they were kindly conducted to their towne."

of great ioy. This proude saluage, hauing his finest women, and the principall of his chiefe men assembled, fate in rankes as before is expresse, himselfe as vpon a Throne at the vpper ende of the house, with such a Maiestie as I cannot expresse, nor yet haue often seene, either in Pagan or Christian, with a kinde countenance hee bad mee welcome, and caused a place to be made by himselfe to sit, I presented him a sute of red cloth, a white Greyhound, and a Hatte, as Jewels he esteemed them, and with a great Oration made by three of his Nobles, if there be any amongst saluages, kindly accepted them, with a publike confirmation of a perpetuall league and friendship. ✓

After that, he commaunded the Queene of Apamatuc, a comely yong Saluage, to give me water,¹ a Turkie-cocke and breade to eate: being thus feasted, hee began his discourse to this purpose. Your kinde visitation doth much content mee, but where is your father whom I much desire to see, is he not with you. I told him he remained aboard, but the next day he would come vnto him, with a merrie couētenance he asked me for certaine peeces I which² promised him, when I went to Paspahegh, I told according to my promise, that I proffered the man that went with me foure Demy Culuerings, in that he so desired a great

¹ In the account of Smith's first interview with Powhatan, in the "Generall Historie," it is stated that this queen was commanded to wait on him. — See page 34, note 2.
² Sic. "Which I," &c.

Gunne, but they refused to take them, whereat with a lowde laughter, he desired to giue him some of a lesse burthen, as for the other I gaue him them, being sure that none could carrie them:¹ but where are these men you promised to come with you, I told him without, who ther vpon gaue order to haue them brought in, two after two, euer maintaining the guard without. And as they presented themselues euer with thanks, he would salute me, and caused each of them to haue foure or fiue pound of bread giuen them. This done, I asked him for the corne and ground he promised me. He told me I should haue it, but he expected to haue all these men lay their armes at his feet, as did his subiects. I tolde him that was a ceremonie our enemies desired, but neuer our Friends, as we presented our selues vnto him, yet that he should not doubt of our friendship: the next day my Father would giue him a child of his, in full assurance of our loues, and not only that, but when he should thinke it conuenient,

¹ We are told in the "Generall Historie" (page 49), that, while Smith was a captive with Powhatan, the Emperor came to him, and told him that "presently he should goe to *Iames* towne, to send him two great gunnes, and a gryndstone, for which he would giue him the Country of *Capahowesick*, and for ever esteeme him as his sonne, *Nan-taquond*. So to *Iames* towne with 12 guides *Powhatan* sent him."

The next morning the savages came to the fort, where Smith showed one of them "two demi-Culverings & a millstone to carry *Powhatan*: they found them somewhat too heauie; but when they did see him discharge them, being loaded with stones, among the boughs of a great tree loaded with Ifficles, the yce and branches came so tumbling downe, that the poore Salvages ran away halfe dead with feare."

wee would deliuer vnder his subiection the Country of Manacam¹ and Pocoughtaonack² his enemies.

This so contented him, as immediatly with attentive silence, with a lowd oration he proclaimed me A werowanes of Powhatan, and that all his subiects should so esteeme vs, and no man account vs strangers nor Paspaheghans, but Powhatans, and that the Corne, weomen and Country, should be to vs as to his owne people: this proffered kindnes for many reasons we contemned not, but with the best Languages and signes of thanks I could expresse, I tooke my leaue.

The King rising from his seat, conducted me foorth, and caused each of my men to haue as much more bread as hee could beare: giuing me some in a basket, & as much he sent a board for a present to my Father: victuals you must know is all there wealth, and the greatest kindnes they could shew vs: arriuing at the Riuer, the Barge was fallen so low with the ebbe, though I had giuen order and oft sent to preuent the same, yet the messengers deceiued mee, the Skies being very thicke and rainie, the King vnderstanding this mischance, sent the Sonne and Mamontacke,³ to conduct mee to a great house sufficient to lodge mee, where entring I saw it hung round with bowes and arrowes.

The Indians vsed all diligence to make vs fires, & giue vs content: the kings Orators presently enter-

¹ Or "Mōnacan." ² See Strachey, p. 27. ³ "Namontack."

✓ tained vs with a kinde oration, with expresse charge that not any should steale, or take out bowes or arrowes, or offer any iniury.

Presently after he sent me a quarter of Venizon to stay my stomacke: in the euening hee sent for mee to come onely with two shot with me: the company I gaue order to stand vpon their guard, & to maintaine two sentries at the ports all night. To my supper he set before me meate for twenty men, & seeing I could not eate, he caused it to be giuen to my men: for this is a generall custome, that what they giue, not to take againe, but you must either eate it, giue it away, or carry it with you: two or three houres we spent in our aunent¹ discourses, which done, I was with a fire stick lighted to my lodging.

The next day the King conducting mee to the Riuer, shewed me his Canowes, and described vnto me how hee sent them ouer the Baye for tribute Beades: and also what Countries paide him Beads, Copper or Skins. But seeing Captaine Nuport, and Maister Scriuener, comming a shore, the King returned to his house, and I went to meete him, with a trumpet before him,² wee marched to the King: who after his old manner kindly receiued him, especially a Boy of thirteen yeares old, called Thomas Saluage, whom he³ gaue him as his

¹ Avenent or avenant — agreeable.

² "With a trumpet before him [i.e. Newport] we marched," &c.

³ That is, Newport. "For whom Powhatan gave him *Namontack* his trustie seruant," who was taken to England by Newport. For many

Sonne: he requited this kindnes with each of vs a great basket of Beanes, and entertaining him with the former discourse, we passed away that day, and agreed to bargaine the next day, and so returned to our Pinnis: the next day comming a shore in like order, the King hauing kindly entertained vs with a breakfast, questioned with vs in this manner.

Why we came armed in that sort, seeing hee was our friend, and had neither bowes nor arrowes, what did wee doubt? I told him it was the custome of our Country, not doubting of his kindnes any waies, wherewith though hee seemed satisfied, yet Captaine Nuport caused all our men to retire to the water side, which was some thirtie score from thence: but to prevent the worst, Maister Scriuener or I were either the one or other by the Barge, experience had well taught me to beleue his friendship, till conuenient opportunity sufficed him to betray vs, but quickly this politician had perceiued my absence, and cunningly sent for mee; I sent for Maister Scriuener to supply my place, the King would demaund for him, I would againe releue him, and they sought to satisfie our suspicion with kind Language, and not being agreed to trade for corne, hee desired to see all our Hatchets and Copper together, for which he would giue vs corne, with that auncient trick the Chickahamaniens had oft ac-

years subsequently Savage rendered an interpreter.—See "Generall Historie," pp. 52, 142.
important service to the colony as

quainted me: his offer I refused, offering first to see what hee would giue for one piece, hee seeming to despise the nature of a Merchant, did scorne to sell, but we freely should giue him, and he liberally would requite vs.

Captaine Nuport would not with lesse then twelue great Coppers try his kindnes, which he liberally requited with as much corne as at Chickahamania, I had for one of lesse proportion: our Hatchets hee would also haue at his owne rate, for which kindnes hee much seemed to affect Captaine Nuport, some few bunches of blew Beades I had, which he much desired, and seeing so few, he offered me a basket of two pecks, and that which I drew to be three pecks at the least, and yet seemed contented and desired more: I agreed with him the next day for two bushells, for y^e ebbe now constrained vs to returne to our Boate, although he earnestly desired vs to stay dinner which was a prouiding, and being ready he sent aboard after vs, which was bread and venison, sufficient for fiftie or fixtie persons.

✓ The next day hee sent his Sonne in the morning not to bring ashore with vs any pieces, least his weomen and children should feare. Captaine Nuports good beliefe would haue satisfied that request, yet twentie or twentie five shot we got a shore: the King importuning mee to leaue my armes a board, much misliking my sword, pistol and target, I told him the

men that flew my Brother¹ with the like tearmes had perfwaded me, and being vnarmed shot at vs, and so betraide vs.

He oft entreated Captaine Nuport that his men might leaue their armes, which still hee commanded to the water side, this day we spent in trading for blew Beads, and hauing neare ffraighted our Barge.²

Captaine Nuport returned with them that came aboard, leauing me and Maister Scriuener a shore, to follow in Canowes; into one I got with fixe of our men, which beeing lanced a stones cast from the shore stuck fast in the Ofe: Maister Scriuener seeing this example, with feuen or eight more passed the dreadfull bridge, thinking to haue found deeper water on the other creeke, but they were inforced to stay with such entertainment as a saluage,³ being forced a shore with wind and raine, hauing in his Canow, as commonly they haue, his house and household, instantly fet vp a house of mats which succoured them from the storme.

The Indians seeing me pestred in the Ofe, called to me, six or seuen of the Kings chiefe men threw off their skins, and to the middle in Ofe, came to bear me out on their heads, their importunacie caused me better to like the Canow then their curtesie, excusing my deniall for feare to fall into the Ofe, desiring them to bring me some wood, fire, and mats to couer me, and I would content them: each presently gaue his helpe

¹ See p. 35.

² There should be no period here.

³ [Could offer?]

✓ to satisfie my request, which paines a horse would scarce haue indured, yet a couple of bells richly contented them.

The Emperors¹ sent his Seaman Mantuas in the euening with bread and victuall for me and my men, he no more scrupulous then the rest seemed to take a pride in shewing how litle he regarded that miserable cold and durty passage, though a dogge would scarce haue indured it, this kindnes I found, when I litle expected lesse then a mischiefe, but the blacke night parting our companies, ere midnight the flood serued to carry vs aboard: the next day we came ashore, the King with a solemne discourse causing all to depart, but his principall men, and this was the effect,² when as hee perceiued that we had a desire to inuade Monacum, against whom he was no professed enemy, yet thus farre hee would assist vs in this enterprize: First hee would send his spies, perfectly to vnderstand their strength and ability to fight, with which he would acquaint vs himselfe.

Captain Nuport would not be seene in it himselfe, being great Werowances, they would stay at home, but I, Maister Scriuener, and two of his Sonnes and Opechankanough.³ The King of Pamaunke should haue 100. of his men to goe before as though they

¹ *Sic.*

² His discourse was to this effect.

³ "There should be no period

here. It should read, "Opechankanough, the King of Pamaunke,"

&c.

were hunting, they giuing vs notife where was the advantage we should kill them, the weomen and young children he wished we should spare, & bring them to him, only 100. or 150. of our men he held sufficient for this exploit: our boats should stay at the falls, where we might hew timber, which we might convey each man a piece till we were past the stones, and there ioyne them, to pass our men by water, if any were shot, his men should bring them backe to our boats, this faire tale had almost made Captain Nuport undertake, by this meanes to discover the South sea, which will not be without trecherie, if wee ground our intent vpon his constancie.

This day we spent in trading, dancing, and much mirth, the King of Pamaunke sent his messenger, as yet not knowing Captaine Nuport, to come vnto him: who had long expected mee, desiring also my Father to visite him: the messenger stayed to conduct vs, but Powhatan vnderstanding that we had Hatchets lately come from Paspahegh, desired the next day to trade with vs, and not to go further.

This new tricke he cunningly put vpon him, but onely to haue what he listed, and to try whether we would go or stay. Opechankenoughs messenger returned that wee would not come: the next day his Daughter came to entreat me, shewing her Father had hurt his legge, and much sorrowed he could not see me.

Captaine Nuport being not to bee perfwaded to goe in,¹ that Powhatan had desired us to stay: sent her away with the like answer, yet the next day vpon better consideration intreatie preuailed, and wee anchored at Cinquoateck, the first twaine aboue the parting of the riuer,² where dwelled two Kings of Pamaunke, Brothers to Powhatan: the one called Opitchapam, the other Kata-tough,³ to these I went a shore, who kindly intreated mee and Maister Scriuener, sending some presents aboard to Captaine Nuport, whilst we were trucking with these Kings.⁴

Opechankanough his wife, weomen, and children came to meete me with a naturall kind affection, hee seemed to reioyce to see me.

Captaine Nuport came a shore, with many kind discourses wee passed that forenoone: and after dinner, Captaine Nuport went about with the Pinnis to Menapacant which is twenty miles by water, and not one by land:⁵ Opechankanough, conducted me and Maister Scriuener by land, where hauing built a feasting house a purpose to entertaine vs with a kind Oration, after

¹ "To goe, in that," &c.

² "Cinquoateck, the first twaine" [towne] above the junction of the two streams which empty into and form the "Pamaunke," (now York) River, may be seen on Smith's map, just below "Menapucunt," where lived "Opechancanough."

³ Or "Catatough." — *Generall Hist.* p. 38.

⁴ There should be no period here,

but one after "Nuport" and "Kata-tough," in the first and third lines above.

⁵ "Cinquoateck" or "Cinquo-teck" may have been on the "Mattapanient" (Mattapony) River, and "Menapucunt" being on the "Youghtanund" (now Pamunkey) River, — very crooked at this place, — the route by water would be circuitous. — See *Smith's map*.

their manner and his best prouision, kindly welcomed vs, that day he would not trucke, but did his best to delight vs with content: Captaine Nuport arriued towards euening, whom the King presented with fixe great platters of fine bread, and Panſarowmana,¹ the next day till noone wee traded; the King feasted all the company, and the afternoone was spent in playing, dauncing, and delight, by no meanes hee would haue vs depart till the next day, he had feasted vs with venison, for which he had sent, hauing spent his first and second prouision in expecting our comming: the next day he performed his promise, giuing more to vs three, then would haue sufficed 30. and in that we carried not away what we left, hee sent it after vs to the Pinnis, with what words or signes of loue he could expresse, we departed.

Captain Nuport in the Pinnis, leauing mee in the Barge to digge a rocke, where wee supposed a Mine at Cinquaoteck, which done, ere midnight I arriued at Weracomoco, where our Pinnis anchored, being 20. miles from Cinquaotecke,² the next day we tooke leaue

¹ "They also referue that corne late planted, that will not ripe, by roasting it in hot ashes, the heat thereof drying it. In winter they esteeme it being boyled with beanes for a rare dish; they call it *Pausarowmena*." — *Smith, in Generall Historie*, p. 28. The last three syllables suggest the word "hominy," and con-

tain the radical from which it is derived.

² Smith has already told us that it was twenty miles (and I think I have seen it estimated twenty-five miles) from the confluence of the two rivers to "Werowocomoco." It must have been some distance farther from "Cinquoteck" to the latter place.

of Powhatan, who in regard of his kindnes gaue him an Indian,¹ he well affected to goe with him for England in steed of his Sonne, y^e cause I assure me was to know our strength and Countries condition: y^e next day we arriued at Kiskiack,² the people so scornefully entertained vs, as with what signes of scorne and discontent we could, we departed and returned to our Fort with 250. bushells of Corne, our president³ being not wholly recouered of his sicknes, in discharging, his Piece brake and split his hand off, which he is not yet well recouered.

At Captaine Nuports arriuall, wee were victualled for twelue weekes, and hauing furnished him of what hee thought good, hee set saile for England the tenth of Aprill:⁴ Maister Scriuener and my selfe with our shallop, accompanied him to Captaine Hendrick.⁵

Powhatan hauing for a farrewell, sent him fure or

¹ See page 52, note 4.

² See page 41, note 5.

³ Captain John Ratcliffe.

⁴ "Captayne Newport, haueing now dispatched all his busines and set the clocke in a true course (if so the Councell will keep it) prepared himself for England vpon the xth of Aprill, and arrayued at Blackwall on Sunday, the xxjth of Maye, 1608."—*Wingfield*, as above, pp. 97, 98. It is stated in the "Generall Historie" that Newport's vessel remained in the country, this time, fourteen weeks. If he arrived the 8th of January, his stay was only about thirteen weeks.

The "Generall Historie" gives the most of "their names that were landed in this supply," numbering in all a hundred and twenty persons. This list probably includes those also who came in the "Phoenix," Captain Francis Nelson, who would have arrived in company with Captain Newport, but had parted with him in a storm, and was given up for lost. Wingfield and Archer went home at this time with Captain Newport.

⁵ Smith undoubtedly wrote "*Cape Hendrick*" (Henry).

fixe mens loadings, with Turkeyes for fwords, which hee sent him¹ in our return to y^e fort: we discouered the riuer of Naufamd,² a proud warlike Nation, as well we may testified,³ at our first arriuall at Chesiapiack:⁴ but that iniury Captaine Nuport well reuenged at his returne, where some of them intifing him to their Ambuscadoes by a daunce, hee perceiuing their intent, with a vally of musket shot, slew one, and shot one or two more, as themfelues confesse, the King at our ariuall sent for me to come vnto him: I sent him word what commodities I had to exchange for wheat, and if he would as had the rest of his Neighbours, conclude a Peace, we were contented, at last he came downe before the Boate which rid at anchor some sortie yards from y^e shore, he signified to me to come a shore, and sent a Canow with foure or fiue of his men, two whereof I desired to come aboard & to stay, & I would send two to talke with their King a shore, to this hee agreed: the King wee presented with a piece of Copper, which he kindly excepted, and sent for victualls to entertaine the messengers.

Maister Scriuener and my selfe also, after that, went

¹ In exchange "for fwords, which he sent him." This passage, I think, belongs to the preceding paragraph. "In our return to the fort we discovered," &c.

² "Nansemond," a well-known river emptying into the James River, at the west of Elizabeth River.

³ Perhaps Smith wrote *testifie*.

⁴ See page 3. I have thought it more probable, that the Indians who assaulted the colonists at Cape Henry were of the Chesapeake, rather than of the Nansemond, tribe.

a fhore: the King kindly feasted vs, requesting vs to ftay to trade till the next day, which hauing done, we returned to the Fort, this riuer is a mufket fhoot broad, each fide being fhould bayes, a narrow channell, but three fadom, his courfe for eighteene miles, almoft directly South, and by Weft, where beginneth the firft inhabitants, for a mile it turneth directly East, towards the Weft, a great bay and a white chaukie Iland, conuenient for a Fort: his next courfe South, where within a quarter of a mile, the riuer diuideth in two, the neck a plaine high Corne field, the wefter bought a high plaine likewise, the Northeaft anfwerable in all refpects: in thefe plaines are planted aboundance of houfes and people, they may containe 1000. Acres of moft excellent fertill ground, fo sweete, fo pleafant, fo beautifull, and fo ftrong a profpect, for an inuincible ftrong Citty, with fo many commodities, that I know as yet I haue not seene: This is within one daies iourney of Chawwonocke,¹ the riuer falleth into the Kings riuer, within twelue miles of Cape-hendicke.

At our Fort, the tooles we had were fo ordinarily ftolen by the Indians, as neceffity inforced vs to correct their brauing theeuerie: for he that stole to day, durft come againe the next day. One amongst the reft, hauing ftolen two fwords, I got the Counfels confent to fet in the bilboes: the next day with three more, he came with their wooden fwords in the midft of our

¹ An Indian town on the "Chowan River." — See page 37, note 2.

men to steale, their custome is to take any thing they can ceaze off, onely the people of Pamaunke, wee haue not found stealing: but what others can steale, their King receiueth.

I bad them depart, but flourishing their swords, they seemed to defend what they could catch but out of our hands, his pride vrged me to turne him¹ from amongst vs, whereat he offred to strike me with his sword, which I preuented, striking him first: the rest offering to reuenge the blow, receiued such an incounter, and fled; the better to affright them, I pursued them with foue or six shot, and so chased them out of the Iland: the beginning of this broyle, litle expecting by his carriage, we durst haue resisted, hauing euen till that present, not beene contradicted, especially them of Paspahegh: these Indians within one houre, hauing by other Saluages, then in the Fort, vnderstood that I threatned to be reuenged, came presently of themselves, and fell to working vpon our wears, which were then in hand by other Saluages, who seeing their pride so incountred, were so so submissiue, and willing to doe any thing as might be, and with trembling feare, desired to be friends within three daies after: From Nawfamond² which is 30. miles from vs, the King sent vs a Hatchet, which they had stollen from vs at our being there: the messenger as is the custome, also wee well rewarded and contented.

¹ Probably the one who had been
"set in the bilboes."

² "Nansemond."— See page 61,
note 2.

The twenty of Aprill, being at worke, in hewing down Trees, and setting Corne,¹ an alarum caused vs with all speede to take our armes, each expecting a new assault of the Saluages: but vnderstanding it a Boate vnder saile, our doubts were presently satisfied, with the happy fight of Maister Nelson, his many perills of extreame stormes and tempests. His ship well, as his company could testifie his care in sparing our prouision, was well: but the prouidence thereof, as also of our stones, Hatchets, and other tooles, onely ours excepted, which of all the rest was most necessary, which might inforce vs, to think² either a seditious traitor to our action, or a most vnconscionable deceiuer of our treasures. This happy arriual of Maister Nelson in the Phenix, hauing beene then about three monethes missing, after Captaine Nuports arriual, being to all our expectations lost: albeit, that now at the last, hauing beene long crossed with tempestuous weather, and contrary winds, his so vnexpected comming, did so rauish vs with exceeding ioy, that now we thought our selues as well fitted, as our

¹ "The spring approaching, and the Ship departing, Mr *Scrivener* and Captain *Smith* deuided betwixt them the rebuilding *James* towne; the repairing our Pallizadoes; the cutting downe trees; preparing our fields; planting our corne, and to rebuild our Church, and recover our Store house. All men thus busie at their severall labours, Maister *Nelson*

arrived with his lost *Phenix*; lost (I say) for that we all deemed him lost."—*Generall Historie*, p. 53.

² Possibly some person's name is here omitted. The whole sentence is obscure, and I make no suggestion respecting its punctuation; the errors in which, in some places, are obvious.

harts could wish, both with a competent number of men, as also for all other needfull prouisions, till a further supply should come vnto vs: whereupon the first thing that was concluded, was, that my selfe, and Maister Scriuener should with 70. men goe with the best meanes we could prouide, to discouer beyond the Falls, as in our iudgements conueniently we might: fixe or feuen daies we spent only in trayning, our men to march, fight, and scirmish in the woods, their willing minds to this action, so quickned their vnderstanding in this exercise, as in all iudgements wee were better able to fight with Powhatans whole force: in our order of battle amongst the Trees, (for Thicks¹ there is few) then² the Fort was to repulse 400. at the first assault, with some tenne or twenty shot, not knowing what to doe, nor how to vse a Piece: our warrant being sealed, Maister Nelson refused to assiste vs with the voluntary Marriners, and himselfe as he promised, vnlesse we would stand bound to pay the hire for shippe, and Marriners, for the time they stayed: and further there was some controuersie, through the diuersity of Contrary opinions, some alleadging, that how profitable, and to what good purpose soeuer our iourney should portend, yet our commission, commanding no certaine designe, we should be taxed for the most in-

¹ Thicketts.

² Used, as was at that period customary, in the sense of "than." There should be a comma only after

"force," a period after "woods," and no point after "trayning," in the second, fifth, and sixth lines above.

discreete men in the world, besides the wrong we should doe to Captaine Nuport, to whom only all discoveries did belong, and to no other: the meanes for guides, beside the vncertaine courses of the riuier, from which we could not erre much, each night would fortifie vs in two houres, better then that they first called the Fort, their Townes vpon the riuier, each within one dayes iourney of other, besides our ordinary prouision, might well be supposed to adde reliefe: for truck & dealing only, but in loue & peace, as w^t the rest; if they assailed vs, their Townes they cannot defend, nor their luggage so conuey, that we should not share, but admit the worst, 16. daies prouision we had of Cheefe, Oatmeale, and bisket besides our ran-
 deuous, we could and might haue hid in the ground.¹ With fixe men, Captaine Martin, would haue vnder-
 taken it himselfe, leauing the rest to defend the Fort, .

¹ The punctuation thus far upon this page is evidently very incorrect; but, as the meaning of the writer in some places is not always clear, it is difficult to say how it should be altered. I suggest the following reading: ["We lacked] the means for guides, beside the uncertain courses of the river, from which [however] we could not err much. Each night would [i. e. we could] fortify us in two hours, better than that they first called 'the Fort' [at Jamestown]. Their towns upon the river, each within one day's journey

of [the] other, besides our ordinary provision, might well be supposed to add relief for truck and dealing; but only in love and peace. As with the rest [the hostile Indians], if they assaulted us, their towns they cannot defend, nor their luggage so convey, that we should not share [their stores]. But, admit the worst, sixteen days' provision we had of cheese, oatmeal, and biscuit [which], we could and might [for better security] have hid in the ground, besides [i.e., near] our rendezvous."

and plant our Corne: yet no reason could be reason,¹ to proceede forward, though we were going aboard to set faile: These discontents caused so many doubts, to some, and discouragement to others, as our iourney ended: yet some of vs procured petitions to set vs forward, only with hope of our owne confusions, our next course was to turne husbandmen, to fell Trees and set Corne. Fiftie of our men, we imployed in this service, the rest kept the Fort, to doe the command of the president, and Captaine Martin, 30. dayes the ship lay expecting y^e triall of certain matters, which for some cause I keep priuate:¹ y^e next exploit was an Indian hauing stolen an Axe, was so pursued by Maister Scriuener, & them next him, as he threw it downe, and flying, drew his bow at any that durst incounter him: within foure or fise dayes after, Maister Scriuener and I, being a litle from the Fort, among the Corne, two Indians, each with a cudgell, and all newly painted with Terrafigillata, came circling about mee, as though they would haue clubed me like a hare: I knew their faining loue is towards me, not without a deadly hatred, but to preuent the worst, I calling maister Scriuener, retired to the Fort: the Indians seeing me

¹ This has undoubted reference to the trial for gold which occupied the minds of some of the colonists; including Captain Martin, who was for reloading this ship, as Newport's ship had been on her last voy-

age home, "with phantastical gold," which Smith opposed, preferring to send home cedar, rather than "durt, or the hopes and reports of an vn-certain discovery."— *Generall Historie*, p. 53.

iuspect them, with good tearmes, asked me for some of their men, whom they would beate, and went with me into our Fort, finding one that lay ordinarily with vs, only for a spie: they offered to beat him, I in perswading them to forbear, they offered to beginne with me, being now foure¹ for two other arrayed in like manner, came in on the other side the Fort: wherevpon I caused to shut the Ports, and apprehend them. The president and Counsell, being presently acquainted, remembring at the first assault, they came in like manner, and neuer else but against some villanie, concluded to commit them to prison, and expect the event, eight more we ceezed at that present, an houre after came three or foure other strangers, extraordinarily fitted with arrowes, skinner, and shooting gloues, their ieaousie and feare, bewrayed their bad intent, as also their suspitious departure.

The next day came first an Indian, then another as Embassadors for their men, they desired to speake with me, our discourse was, that what Spades, Shouells, swords, or tooles they had stolne, to bring home, (if not the next day, they should hang) the next newes was, they had taken two of our men, ranging in the woods, which mischief no punishment will preuent but hanging, and these they would should redeem their owne 16. or 18. thus brauing vs to our doores, we desired

¹ The sense requires a comma here; and a comma after "spie" and a period after "him," in the second line above.

the president, and Captaine Martin, that afternoone to fall ypon them, that they might but know, what we durst to doe, and at night mand our Barge, and burnt their Townes, and spoiled, and destroyed, what we could, but they brought our men, and freely deliuered them: the president released one, the rest we brought well guarded, to Morning and Evening prayers. Our men all in armes, their trembling feare, then caused them to much sorrow, which till then scoffed, and scorned at what we durst doe, the Counsell concluded, that I should terrifie them with some torture,¹ to know if I could know their intent, the next day I bound one in hold to the maine Mast, and presenting fixe Muskets with match in the cockes, forced him to desire life, to answere my demaunds he could not, but one of his Comouodos was of the Counsell of Paspahegh, that could satiffie me: I releasing him out of fight, I affrighted the other, first with the rack, then with Muskets, which seeing, he desired me to stay, and hee would confesse² to this execution Maister Scriuener came, his discourse was to this effect, that Paspehegh, the Chickahamianar, Youghtanum, Pamaunka, Mattapanient, and Kiskiack.³ These nations were altogether a hunt-

¹ That is, those who (p. 68) had been committed to prison.

² There should be a period here.

³ There should be no period here, and "these nations" should be in a parenthesis. I interpret this passage thus: that Indians from the several

tribes named were together a hunting when Smith was taken prisoner in December of last year; that, subsequently, the "Paspaheghs" and "Chickahomines" had a plot to surprize those who might be at work, and seize their tools; that "Powha-

ing that took me, Paspahegh, & Chicahamanya, had entended to surprise vs at worke, to haue had our tools: Powhatan, & al his would seeme friends, till Captaine Nuports returne, that he had againe his man, which he called Namontack, where with a great feaft hee would enamor Captain Nuport & his men, as they should ceaze on him, and the like traps would be laied for the rest.

This trap for our tooles, we suspected¹ the chiefe occasion was foure daies before Powhatan had sent the boy² he had to vs, with many Turkies to Maister Scriuener, and mee, vnderstanding I would go vp into his Countries to destroy them, and he doubted³ it the more, in that I so oft practised my men, whose shooting he heard to his owne lodging, that much feared his wiues, and children; we sent him word, we entended no such thing, but only to goe to Powhatan, to seeke stones to make Hatchets, except his men shoot at vs, as Paspahegh had told vs that they would, which if they did shoot, but one arrowe, we would destroy them, and least this mischiefe might happen, sent the boy to acquaint him thus much, and request him to send vs Weanock, one of his subiects for a guide, y^e boy

tan and al his would seeme friends till Captaine Newports returne" (with "Namontack," whom he took with him to England on his last voyage home), when they would make a feaft for him and his men, and then entrap him and the rest.

¹ "This trap for our tools we suspected. The chief occasion was, foure daies before," &c.

² Thomas Savage, the boy given by Newport to Powhatan. He had arrived with the first "supply."

³ Used here in the sense of "feared."

he returned backe with his Chest, & apparrell, which then we had giuen him, desiring another for him, y^e cause was, he was practising with the Chickahamianias, as the boy suspected some villainie, by their extraordinary resort, & secret conference from whence they would send him. The boy we keepe, now we would send him many messengers, & presents, the guide we desired he sent vs, & withall requested vs to returne him, either the boy, or some other, but none he could haue, & that day these Indians were apprehended, his sonne with others y^e had loaded¹ at our Fort, returned, & being out of the Fort, rayled on me, to diuers of our men, to be enemies to him, & to y^e Chikamanias, not long after Weanock, y^e had bin with vs for our guide, whom wee kept to haue conducted vs in another iourney, w^h a false excuse returned, and secretly after him, Amocis the Paspaheyan, who alwaies they kept amongst vs for a spie, whom the better to auoide suspition, presently after they came to beare away: these presumptions induced me to take any occasion, not onely to try the honesty of Amocis, the spie, but also the meaning of these cunning trickes of their Emperour of Powhatan; whose true meaning Captaine Martin most confidently pleaded.

The confession of Macanoe, which was the counsellor of Paspahegh: first I, then Maister Scriuener,

¹ "Lodged" (?)

vpon their severall examinations, found by them all confirmed, that Paspahegh, and Chickahammania did hate vs, and intended some mischiefe, and who they were that tooke me, the names of them that stole our tooles, and fwords, and that Powhatan receiued them, they all agreed: certaine vollies of shot we caused to be discharged, which caused each other to thinke that their fellowes had beene slaine.

Powhatan vnderstanding we detained certaine Saluages, sent his Daughter,¹ a child of tenne yeares old,

¹ This is the first reference in this tract to Pocahontas, who subsequently became so famous in Virginia story; and it is the earliest notice of her which I have met with anywhere. If her age here is correctly given, she was but sixteen years old when she was married to Rolfe, in April, 1614. In the second part of the "Map of Virginia," 1612 (p. 103), it is said that she was, at the period there referred to (say 1609), "at most not past 13 or 14 yeares of age." If the age given on her picture in the "Generall Historie" is correct, viz., "Ætatis suæ 21. A° 1616," she must have been thirteen years of age at the time Smith is here writing (1608), and nineteen at the time of her marriage. The following passage from Strachey, the secretary of the colony, who arrived at Jamestown in May, 1610, and resided there less than two years, may find an appropriate place here. After saying that "their younger women goe not shad-

owed amongst their owne companie untill they be nigh eleaven or twelve returnes of the lease old," he proceeds: "Nor are they much ashamed thereof, and therefore would the before remembred Pochahuntas, a well featured, but wanton yong girle, Powhatan's daughter, sometymes resorting to our fort, of the age then of eleven or twelve yeares, get the boyes forth with her into the markett place, and make them wheele, falling on their hands, turning up their heeles upwards, whome she would followe and wheele so her self, naked as she was, all the fort over; but being once twelve yeares, they put on a kind of semecinctum lethern apron (as doe our artificers or handycrafts men) before their bellies, and are very shamefac't to be seene bare," &c. — *Historie of Travaile, &c.*, p. 65. This, again, would more nearly indicate the age named in the text, if Strachey is here speaking of his own time in the colony.

which not only for feature, countenance, & proportion, much exceedeth any of the rest of his people, but for wit, and spirit, the only Nonpareil of his Country: this hee sent by his most trustie messenger, called Rawhunt, as much exceeding in deformitie of person, but of a subtile wit, and crafty vnderstanding, he with a long circumstance, told mee, how well Powhatan, loued and respected mee, and in that I should not doubt any way of his kindnesse, he had sent his child, which he most esteemed, to see me, a Deere, and bread, besides for a present: desiring me that the Boy might come againe, which he loued exceedingly, his little Daughter hee had taught this lesson also: not taking notice at all of the Indeans that had beene prisoners three daies, till that morning that she saw their fathers and friends come quietly, and in good tearmes to entreate their libertie.

Opechancanough, sent also vnto vs, that for his sake, we would release two that were his friends, and for a token sent me his shooting Gloue, and Bracer,¹ which the day our men was taken vpon,² separating himselfe from the rest a long time, intreated to speake with me, where in token of peace, he had preferred me the same: now all of them hauing found their peremptorie conditions, but to increase our malice, which they seeing vs begin to threaten to destroy them, as famil-

¹ Armor for the arm.

the day our men was taken, was vpon

² Perhaps he means to say, "which, them."

iarly as before, without fuspition, or feare, came amongst vs, to begge libertie for their men: In the afternoone they being gone, we guarded them as before to the Church, and after prayer, gaue them to Pocahuntas, the Kings Daughter, in regard of her fathers kindnesse in fending her: after hauing well fed them, as all the time of their imprifonment, we gaue them their bowes, arrowes, or what elfe they had, and with much content, fent them packing:¹ Pocahuntas, alfo we re-

¹ The following condensed account of the events detailed on the laft fix pages, and including thofe on pages 62 and 63, is from the "Generall Hiftorie," page 54: "*Powhatan* (to exprefs his loue to *Newport*) when he departed, prefented him with twentie Turkies, conditionally to returne him twentie fwords, which immediately was fent him; now after his departure he prefented Captaine *Smith* with the like luggage, but not finding his humor obeyed in not fending fuch weapons as he defired, he caufed his people with twentie devices to obtaine them. At laft by ambuscadoes at our very Ports they would take them perforce, furprife vs at worke, or any way; which was fo long permitted, they became fo infolent there was no rule; the command from *England* was fo ftrait not to offend them, as our authoritie-bearers (keeping their houfes) would rather be any thing than peace-breakers: this charitable humor prevailed, till well it chanced they medled with Captaine *Smith*, who

without farther deliberation gaue them fuch an incounter, as fome he fo hunted vp and downe the Ifle, fome he fo terrified with whipping, beating, and imprifonment, as for revenge they furprised two of our forraging diforderly fouldiers, and having afsembled their forces, boldly threatened at our Ports to force *Smith* to redeliver feven Salvages, which for their villanies he detained prifoners, or we were all but dead men. But to try their furies he falied out amongst them, and in leffe than an houre, he fo hampred their infolencies, they brought them his two men, defiring peace without any further compofition for their prifoners. Thofe he examined, and caufed them all beleue, by feuerall vollies of shot one of their companions was shot to death, becaufe they would not confesse their intents and plotters of thofe villanies. And thus they all agreed in one point, they were directed onely by *Powhatan* to obtaine him our weapons, to cut our owne throats, with the manner where,

quited, with such trifles as contented her, to tel that we had vsed y^e Paspaheyans very kindly in so releasfing them. The next day we had fufpition of some other practife for an Ambuscado, but perfectly wee could not difcouer it, two daies after a Paspaheyans, came to fhew vs a gliftering Minerall ftone: and with fignes demonftrating it to be in great aboundance, like vnto Rockes,¹ with fome dozen more, I was fent to feeke to digge fome quantitie, and the Indean to conduct me: but fufpectfing this fome tricke to delude vs, for to get fome Copper of vs, or with fome Ambuscado to betray vs, feeing him falter in his tale, being two miles on our way, led him afhore, where abufing vs from place to place, and fo feeing either to haue drawn vs with him into the woods, or to haue giuen vs the flippe:² I fhewed him Copper, which I promifed to haue giuen him, if he had performed his promife, but for his fcof-

how, and when, which we plainly found moft true and apparant: yet he fent his meffengers, and his deareft daughter *Pocahontas* with prefents to excufe him of the iniuries done by fome rafh vntoward Captaines his fubiefts, defiring their liberties for this time, with the affurance of his loue for ever. After *Smith* had given the prifoners what correction he thought fit, vsed them well a day or two after, & then delivered them *Pocahontas*, for whose fake onely he fayned to haue faued their liues, and gaue them libertie. The patient Councell that nothing would

moue to warre with the Salvages, would gladly haue wrangled with Captaine *Smith* for his crueltie, yet none was flaine to any mans knowledge, but it brought them in fuch feare and obedience, as his very name would fufficiently affright them; where before, wee had fome-time peace and warre twice in a day, and very feldom a weeke, but we had fome trecherous villany or other."

¹ "Like unto Rockes. With fome dozen more I was fent," &c.

² There fhould be only a comma here.

ving and abusing vs, I gaue him twentie lashes with a Rope, and his bowes and arrowes, bidding him shoote if he durst, and so let him goe.

In all this time, our men being all or the most part well recouered, and we not willing to trifle away more time then necessitie enforced vs vnto, we thought good for the better content of the aduenturers, in some reasonable sort to freight home Maister Nelson with Cedar wood,¹ about which, our men going with willing minds, was in very good time effected, and the ship sent for England; wee now remaining being in good health, all our men wel cōtented, free from mutinies, in loue one with another, & as we hope in a continuall peace with the Indians,² where we doubt not but by Gods

¹ See page 67, note.

² "The second of June 1608, Smith left the Fort to performe his Discovery," with a company of fourteen persons. "In an open Barge neare three tuns burthen, leaving the *Phanix* at Cape Henry, they crossed the Bay to the Eastern shore," &c. — *Generall Historie*, p. 55. This was Smith's first voyage of exploration of Chesapeake Bay, and of the rivers running into it. The party returned on the 21st of July. He started again on the 24th of that month "to finish the discovery," with a party of twelve, and was absent over seven weeks, returning on the 7th of September. From the results of these discoveries, combined with his previous knowledge of the

country, Smith composed his map of Virginia, which he sent home by Newport before the close of the year; and it was first published in the Oxford tract before referred to, in 1612. *Generall Historie*, pp. 59, 65, 71, 72.

³ This hope, however, proved delusive. The Indians continued to be a source of annoyance and vexation. Perhaps they had some provocation. After a time, the colonists gained more confidence in their safety, and scattered settlements sprang up on the bay, and the rivers running into it, in many instances remote from each other. The haughty "Opechancanough" had ever been intent on the destruction of the English; and, by a course of craft and policy, he had "lulled the

gracious assistance, and the aduenturers willing minds, and speedie furtherance to so honorable an action in after times, to see our Nation to enjoy a Country, not onely exceeding pleasant for habitation, but also very profitable for comerce in generall, no doubt pleasing to almightie God, honourable to our gracious Soueraigne, and commodious generally to the whole Kingdome.^{1]}

colonists into a fatal security." On the 22d of March, 1621-2, his plans having been matured, a general rising of the Indians took place, and three hundred and forty-seven persons, — one-twelfth of all the colonists, — including six members of the council, were cut off. — *Stith*, pp. 209, 210.

¹ The narrative, here brought to a close, embraces the history of the colony from the arrival at the Chesapeake, on the 21st of April, 1607, to the 2d of June, 1608, a period of a little over thirteen months. As it was printed in London in 1608, it is quite probable that it was sent home at this time by Captain Nelson. Cap-

tain Smith continued to serve the colony to the best of his ability. In July of this year, Ratcliffe was deposed, and Smith was chosen in his place; but, as he was desirous to finish the discovery of Chesapeake Bay, which he had begun, "he substituted Mr *Scrivener*, his deare friend, in the Presidency," and embarked on his voyage. — *Generall Historie*, p. 59. On the 10th of September of this year, he was by the Council elected their President, and "receiued the Letters Patents." This office he held until he left the colony in the autumn ("about Michaelmas") of 1609, never to return to it again. — *Ibid.*, pp. 66, 164.

FINIS.



I N D E X.



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NOTICE.

After the *Index* to "SMITH'S TRUE RELATION" was printed, the *folios* in the Preface of the book were so changed as to render the references to that portion of the work useless. A new Index has therefore been prepared for every subscriber, as a substitute for the erroneous one.

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